

# PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

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December 1, 1950

THREEPENCE

## Germans are against Re-armament

THE QUEER POSITION OF MR. BEVIN NOW

By Emrys Hughes, M.P.

"Whatever the niceties of Dr. Schumacher's politics, it is however clear that the German people apparently have no taste for the idea of re-armament and do not want to be brought into any war for whatever reason under any circumstances. Like the average Frenchman the average German has had enough."

TAKE this interesting paragraph from an article that appeared in the Scotsman on Nov. 23, from its special correspondent in Germany. The article is headed: "Pacifist Vote in Two West German States; 'No Re-armament' Policy Wins."

It is quite clear that in the recent elections the success of the German Social Democrats has been due to the fact that they have opposed the rearmament of Germany.

Not that one would classify the German Social Democrats as theoretical pacifists. Indeed some of them appear to be in favour of re-armament under certain circumstances, i.e., if Germany were given full sovereignty and allowed to have its own armed forces on equal terms with Britain and France. These are not, however, the conditions that are acceptable to the governments that now want Germany re-armed.

**Unpopular rearmament**  
So Dr. Schumacher speaking as leader of the Social Democratic Party has spoken out against proposals which imply that the younger generation in Germany is to be the main source of cannon fodder for the new European Army.

Dr. Carlo Schmid, another socialist leader, has spoken out in stronger terms than Dr. Schumacher. "If we are to be Bolshevised," he has said, "it might as well be with our limbs unbroken, and our houses unburned."

Not that these Germans have affection for the Russians—they have reason to have less than we have—but from a frankly realistic point of view they see the terrible dangers that lie ahead to Germany if it is to become the cockpit of another war and if they are to have their towns and cities bombed and blasted and burned again.

As the Scotsman correspondent remarks, the average German like the average Frenchman has had enough. Whatever the leaders of the political parties and the military chiefs may have, the German man in the street is against being conscripted for the futility of an East-West war again.

**Mr. Bevin's problem**

Well, what is the British Government, and especially Mr. Bevin, going to do about this problem? What is Mr. Bevin going to tell Dr. Adenauer when he meets him in Bonn?

This is not going to be a pleasant meeting, for Mr. Bevin.

I have a vivid memory of a meeting with Dr. Adenauer last year, the day after Mr. Bevin had made one of his stupid speeches about Germany. The Foreign Secretary had said something to the effect that he didn't trust the Germans, and Dr. Adenauer was indignant because Mr. Bevin had not realised that in Germany itself there had been opposition to the Nazi regime.

Last year when I asked Mr. Bevin to

stop the dismantling of German plants that could be used for peaceful industrial purposes he dismissed it as "sloppy sentiment" and said he couldn't forget the bombing raids on his constituency during the war.

If the argument is that Germany must be prepared to rearm to defend herself against Russia, it is clear that, in retrospect, the dismantlement projects which Mr. Bevin so strongly defended in the House of Commons, against the protests especially of Mr. Richard Stokes, now Minister of Works, was the height of stupidity.

**Awkward meeting**

Let us hope that Mr. Bevin will find time not only for talks with Dr. Adenauer but with the leaders of the socialists, too.

How in the light of what he has said and done during the last few years he can possibly try to persuade the Germans to re-arm, I do not know.

He will find it rather awkward if the Germans, who may have been reading what Dr. Summerskill said about the cruelty and brutality of boxing will endorse her view that the promoters of prize fights should be the first to be sent into the ring.

## EDE IS WRONG ABOUT CIVIL DEFENCE

Scientist defends his "subversive" Peace Pledge Union pamphlet

Dr. Alex Comfort replied to the Home Secretary's remarks in the House of Commons and in the News Chronicle about his pamphlet "Civil Defence, what you should do now," in a letter to the News Chronicle on Tuesday:

"THE estimated casualties at Hiroshima and Nagasaki were 141,000 and 76,000 respectively," wrote Dr. Comfort. "Mr. Chuter Ede (News Chronicle, Nov. 20), expects to reduce these figures by half—an average of 50,000 per incident."

"On the experience of the last war, and with faster attacking aircraft, ten atomic bombs a week would not seem an improbable figure."

"At the same time, damage to structures within the main area can be little if at all reduced by passive defence. If we assume a mean destruction per incident of 3.3 square miles that gives us a total weekly casualty roll of 500,000 and the destruction of 33 square miles of city, with the likelihood of lighter damage to another 30 or more square miles."

"For how long does Mr. Ede estimate that such casualties could be sustained in a country of this size?"

"As author of the 'subversive pamphlet'

## STOP THE WAR NOW!

Withdraw British troops if war extends

LOUD and prolonged applause greeted Tom Hopkinson, who recently resigned his editorship of Picture Post on being forbidden to publish the truth about atrocities committed under the UN flag, when he rose to speak at a packed meeting in Kingsway Hall last Monday.

The meeting on "Korea, China and World Peace," was organised by the National Peace Council, and well-known speakers uttered strong condemnations of American policy and the danger of the war's further continuation.

Kingsley Martin, Editor of the New Statesman, and the first speaker, described the situation in Korea as "a vast madness."

Britain's friendship for the new China, he said, was being turned into enmity, and the British Government's pronounced policy—the recognition of the Communist Government of China and its representation on United Nations—was being flouted by the USA.

General MacArthur supported the return to power of the corrupt Syngman Rhee Government, as he did that of Chiang Kai-shek in China, and the American Government were allowing him to act as an individual and a war-monger, not as a servant of United Nations. This was in violent opposition to British policy and to the wishes of the British people.

**Americans afraid to protest**

Chinese intervention in the Korean war, he said, was due to a justifiable fear and suspicion of American intentions.

Its purpose was to defend the Korean-Manchurian border, and protect the chain of power stations along the border which supplied 90 per cent. of the power for Manchuria. And that, he asserted, was a course of action which no Foreign Office anywhere

in the world could disapprove of, nor any government would have failed to adopt in a similar situation.

Loud applause greeted his proposal that the Americans be told that if British troops were asked to fight against China we would demand their immediate withdrawal from the scene.

"Something must be done to settle the Korean war at once," he declared, and he called on the British Government in the words uttered by Arthur Greenwood in the House of Commons during the critical period of the last war: "Speak for England"—and he added, "Speak for England in America."

This was the more urgent, he continued, because such a public meeting as the present one could not now be held in the United States. American people were afraid of expressing their opinions freely, owing to the ceaseless witch-hunts and purges, and the rapid development of totalitarian methods there.

To deal with Korea after the cessation of hostilities, he suggested the setting up of a UN Civil Government under a competent and democratic leader—not Syngman Rhee—and that order should be maintained by UN forces composed predominantly of Indians and Chinese.

**Britons must not fight China**

Tom Hopkinson, whom Kingsley Martin had previously praised for his resolute stand for the freedom of the press—saying, "It is a fine thing when editors like Tom Hopkinson try to publish the truth"—stressed the need for the peoples of Europe to realise what was happening in Asia.

That Continent, he said, would be unrecognisable in 20 years' time, owing to the rapid Westernisation now going on.

Europe was no longer the focal point in world politics and he thought for that reason alone it was unwise for the Press to keep their star reporters in such places as Paris, Geneva, Milan and other big European cities.

The North Koreans brought economic freedom with them when they invaded South Korea. All Asia was watching the actions of UN and the way in which they were influenced by the outcome of events would determine the future course of world affairs.

**Asia is world's focal point**

"The weapon of truth is a double-edged sword," he declared. If the British press is to justify its traditions it must report the facts about Korea and the atrocities carried on there not only by the North Koreans but also by the South Koreans and the Americans.

Korea was a testing-place for British relations with America, and many American people—the progressive element in that country—were waiting for a lead from Britain in protesting against the brutalities taking place under the United Nations flag.

The American way of life encouraged a strong tendency to brutality, and he hoped that would be resisted by the streak of toughness in the British make-up.

Let the people of this country not under-estimate the profound effects of events in Korea upon their own present and future lives, he said. "A bullet fired in China will hit someone below St. Paul's."

He was glad, he concluded, to be able to say all that before retiring from the public scene.

**Americans want British lead**

Tom Driberg, MP, said he hoped Parliament would hear of that meeting and that MPs would be stimulated by the knowledge of the great spirit and strong feeling alive in the country today.

After describing his visit to Korea during the summer he recalled the circumstances of Tom Hopkinson's resignation (as reported in PN on Nov. 10).

He told how James Cameron, the well-known journalist who a few months before had walked out of the Beaverbrook press in protest against the "smear campaign" against a Cabinet Minister, had written a feature for Picture Post exposing South Korean and American atrocities in Pusan, where once or twice a week groups of 40 to 50 North Koreans, suspected of being Communists, were shot without proper trials.

It was the proprietor's refusal to publish (continued on back page)

## END KOREA ATROCITIES: ADMIT CHINA TO UNITED NATIONS

— Labour Pacifist Fellowship

THE Labour Pacifist Fellowship, greatly disturbed at the recent reports of barbarous reprisals being exacted by the South Koreans, against their opponents, has issued a statement through their Executive Committee.

It considers that the British Government should demand in the Security Council that the United Nations Commander in Korea take immediate action to "establish a civilised code of conduct in the treatment of prisoners and political opponents throughout the territory under his control."

Believing that continued support for Syngman Rhee, who openly opposes the UN, that free elections should be held throughout Korea to determine that country's future, is creating an unfortunate situation throughout Asia, the LPF statement says that the UN should be attempting to secure freedom, justice and economic security for the Korean people.

The continued mass bombing of Korean towns is also viewed with grave concern, and the organisation of relief measures for the country is pressed, to be pursued as energetically as the military campaign.

The LPF supports the efforts of the

British Government to secure the admission of the People's Republic of China into membership of the UN. In their view recent military actions by China arise largely from fear of American plans to reinstate Chiang Kai-shek, which fear has been nurtured by the American protection of Formosa and the continued bombing of Chinese towns.

"These events," the statement ends, "serve only to underline the danger in excluding the largest nation in Asia from the discussions in the United Nations and the need for bringing her in at once so that all the Far Eastern problems—Korea, Indo-China, Formosa, Tibet and Japan may be settled by peaceful means."

Reginald Sorensen, MP, is the President of the Labour Pacifist Fellowship, Vice-presidents are Dr. Donald Soper, Ritchie Calder, Dame Sybil Thorndike, R. S. W. Pollard and Preston Benson.

### Put Labour ideals into operation

As an active member, and an official of the Labour Party, I am appalled at the attitude of mind which is spreading so rapidly through our ranks. It is impossible today to criticise the Party in any way without being called a "fellow-traveller."

This is utter rubbish. I am a critic of the Labour Party—I believe wholeheartedly in its ideals, but I want to see them put into operation. If we have arrived at the stage where we can no longer criticise it, the Labour Party is DEAD, and someone should see that it is decently interred.

It has not yet accomplished the things it set out to do; we have by no means established either democracy or socialism. The work remains to be done: are we then going to do it by an attitude which says that the Party is always right? Does the Party itself want to gain its ends by gagging and fettering its members, not into a state of peace, but of torpidity?

I would earnestly appeal to all members of the Party to use their common sense, and to judge individual cases entirely on their merits. If the only way to deal with this problem is to have a "witch-hunt," for goodness sake make quite sure that the people we are hunting are witches and not just citizens of integrity who have been courageous enough to express an honest opinion, and perhaps ill-advised enough to use what brain they possess.

—Reginald Sorensen, MP, Labour Pacifist Fellowship Bulletin



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## GNATS AND CAMELS

**L**AST week Dr. Edith Summerskill made a public speech about prize-fighting, which contained many laudable sentiments about the use of violence.

We are moved to comment on it because it also contained an example of just that kind of disconnected reasoning on the subject of violence with which our pacifist argument has to deal with most frequently. It was a perfect demonstration of the attitude proverbially known as straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel.

We all agree with what Dr. Summerskill says about "degrading spectacles." The habit of newspapers to publish large photographs of men with bloody and disfigured faces is certainly a sign, amongst others, of an increasing tendency to coarseness and sensationalism in modern journalism.

But what makes her outburst so remarkable is that she denounces a minor form of brutality in order to emphasise the need for a major one. For the lady who so enthusiastically denounces prize-fights uses the occasion to express her support of the preparation for the next world war.

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Let us, therefore, continue her arguments from where they stop half-way.

"It is of permanent importance," she says, "to teach children that violence is the most unintelligent of arguments."

But we may encourage and applaud the adults who are using it in Korea.

"We spend millions," she says, "teaching (delinquent) boys that violence is anti-social."

But at the same time we spend far more millions on infinitely worse forms of violence for them to learn to use, when they are "reformed," against delinquent foreigners.

She protests against the BBC commentator's description of a fight—e.g. "If that blow had got home it would not only have decapitated him but knocked half his body off."

But she does not protest against all young and able-bodied children being taught how to decapitate or dismember foreigners by the thousand and blow their bodies to pieces.

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"Our statesmen," she continues, "are trying to establish a world order in which war is abolished. Their success depends upon the way we teach and train the young."

So it does. But our statesmen are at this moment using the method of violence in order to establish that warless world. How, then, must we train the young to assist in abolishing war by war? Surely, by teaching them the necessity for violence and training them in the most devastating forms of it.

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But perhaps the best explanation of these puzzling contradictions is in the speaker's concluding remarks.

A questioner asked her whether she was opposed to self-defence, seeing that there always would be violence.

Her reply was revealing:

"The next war will be fought with bombs and atom bombs, and not fists. We women are not taught the noble art of self-defence, but we are just as useful as you are." (laughter and applause).

So that is what's wrong with prize-fighting: it isn't deadly enough. Fists can only disfigure men's faces; they cannot wipe out cities.

But if that is so, why object to a spectacle which, compared with that of a bombed city, is as pleasant as a Sunday School Treat?

We cannot explain it. It is a matter for the psychologist.

We only know that the chief obstacle to world peace is not the Red Army, nor even General MacArthur.

It is that blind spot in the imagination, that unaccountable hiatus in the reasoning processes, of even our most intelligent rulers.

## Commentary

By JOHN FRIEND

**L**ORD SALISBURY'S plea for a new effort to arrange four-Power talks has been followed up by a group of 40 Labour MPs and others. The forty MPs have tabled a motion which, among other things, calls on the Government, in co-operation with other Powers, to prepare a policy for a lasting peace.

Such a policy, they suggest, "should include proposals for resolving the fundamental differences between those great Powers which formed the war-time grand alliance, a world plan for mutual aid, particularly to the undeveloped areas of the world, enhanced economic development, increased trade between all countries, and a scheme for gradual world disarmament."

### Toughness is not realism

**T**HE grave military developments in Korea have drawn the attention of many thinking people of more than one party to the fearful risks which are involved in the policy of toughness to Russia as now followed by the Western Powers. There may be few opportunities from now on for halting the onrush of a world war.

"A Student of Europe," says truly enough in the Observer that the prospects of successfully treating with Russia are not bright. Her obstinacy over a settlement in Austria is a striking instance of her dangerous line. But Lord Salisbury is surely not one of those "fair-minded and soft-hearted people" castigated by "A Student of Europe" as unwittingly increasing the dangers of the situation.

The soft-hearted and the realistic are at one today in urging a halt to the relentless turning of the screw by both sides simultaneously in the vain hope of frightening the other into compliance.

### Ready fields for co-operation

**R**ISKY as it may be to attempt to treat with Russia, far greater dangers lurk elsewhere—both the danger that, as "A Student of Europe" observes, "Russia may overplay her hand," and the danger, apparently not visualised by him, that America may do the same.

As the MPs' motion indicates, there is a vast field in which co-operation could be tried, and once it was tried even those fundamental differences, over Austria and Germany and atomic energy control, could become discussable again.

The Atomic Scientists' Association has pointed out that Mr. Vyshinsky has already hinted at willingness to allow inspection of atomic energy production, and it suggests that this, taken together with Mr. Truman's statement that any successful plan of dis-

armament must include all kinds of weapons, "may indicate a possible willingness towards compromise" on a basis that was not present before.

### New peacemaker: a German army

**F**IVE years ago the power of Germany was broken by the superior might of the Allied Powers, and it was then assumed that the peace of the world depended on the breaking of her power. The Allies, indeed, fought the war in order to achieve that end. Today we see the world's peace menaced no less than before, but from a different quarter (some would say from two or more quarters at once); and the Western powers now seek to undo all that they fought for.

German rearmament is now regarded as a necessary condition of stability and peace. A formula is being sought in order to secure agreement to her rearmament, and the Federal Government of Western Germany is being persuaded to co-operate.

### Niemoller's protest

**A**LMOST, though not quite, alone among the leaders of German opinion, Pastor Niemoller stands out against this extraordinary proposal, pointing out not only that it is fraught with terrible risks but that it is wrong and impracticable—that national well-being and security cannot be obtained by weapons of war.

The risks are grave enough in themselves, for, as he points out, the re-arming of Western Germany will give the signal to the East that the hot war might as well begin; but he has had the courage to base his arguments no less on pacifist principles than on considerations of expediency.

It is not to be wondered at that such a stand should be condemned by those concerned with pushing through a policy which, though dangerous, is believed to lead through danger to security. It has become inexpedient, in their view, to enunciate lofty ideals in general terms. The facts, as politicians see them, are to be faced not with principles but with diplomacy and statesmen's veiled threats.

### One danger-line is enough

**N**IEMOLLER, however, thinks otherwise. It is a measure of his stature as a leader in Germany that the Evangelical Church has not rejected him but has accepted a compromise.

The Church's statement merely calls on all office bearers to exercise the utmost restraint in their political utterances—a course which may remind some of us of the line taken by the Sanhedrin when they

were seeking to restrain Peter and John from preaching Christ. Pacifists, convinced that Niemoller is taking the right path, in the profoundest sense of the term, will watch the outcome of his courageous action with profound interest and expectancy.

Niemoller is seeking, in effect, to stop the Western Powers from making the East-West frontier into a danger line like the 38th Parallel in Korea. The rearmament of Western Germany would add the final touch to the picture; after that it would be only a matter of time before a first-class explosion took place. And the Korean war is showing clearly enough that when the shooting begins between East and West or their satellites it is a supremely difficult task to limit the area of conflict.

### Futility exposed—again

**T**O have stopped the war on the 38th Parallel would have been admittedly a highly dangerous course for the United Nations forces. The temptation, from the military point of view, to step across the Parallel and seek to round up the retreating North Koreans was naturally very great. But the consequences of advancing over the Parallel towards the Manchurian border have been graver than anything which might have been feared from stopping short at the 38th Parallel. Instead of the problem of a somewhat vulnerable frontier between the North and South Koreans, General MacArthur now faces a frontier that simply cannot be held—because beyond it are the massed forces of not one, but two, world Powers.

If ever the bankruptcy of the method of violence in international affairs has been well and truly demonstrated it is here; on the cold mountains of North Korea.

### Racial policies and the Church

**A** COURAGEOUS utterance was that of the Archbishop of Canterbury the other day. The Times correspondent reports that, while deploring "uninformed and malicious overseas criticisms" the Archbishop re-affirmed the right of the Church to speak its mind about racial policies in South Africa.

"A suggestion which has sometimes been made," he said, "that there is something unpatriotic in criticising what has either been done or what is proposed to be done by the Government of the moment, is quite intolerable."

He is backed up by a resolution that has been issued by the Anglican Synod in South Africa. The Synod associates itself with the Lambeth Conference decision of 1948 condemning discrimination between man-

(Continued on back page)

## HOW TO WIN FRIENDS

By Geoffrey Carnall

**N**OT long ago Hugh Dalton was putting the familiar argument that peace can only be built on an arms race. "The Russians," he said, "are a simple people. They respect strength."

Which only shows that a man can be a profound economist and a shallow psychologist. One doesn't complain about his not having mastered Freud; but he might at least have read his Dale Carnegie.

Few books, indeed, can have been more popular than "How to Win Friends and Influence People." Over three-and-a-half million copies have been sold, and it is a favourite in public libraries. No wonder. Who doesn't want to increase his popularity, his influence and his income? No-one could complain that the book lacked a practical approach, although it doesn't sound quite so earthy as an earlier book by Kenneth Goode called "How to turn People into Gold." It is therefore all the more surprising to see the kind of advice Dale Carnegie gives on the best way of dealing with people.

Most speeches made by politicians stand condemned by the Carnegie method. So far from giving others a fine reputation to live up to, they aim to prove their opponents stupid, self-seeking, power-hungry and unscrupulous. So far from admitting their mistakes, they do everything possible to hide them, and, for good measure, spare no effort to exploit the mistakes of others.

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They rejoice when their opponents lose prestige, and are morbidly sensitive about their own.

How often do American and Russian politicians try sincerely to look at the world from the point of view of their counterparts? Much indeed is said in Washington about the Kremlin viewpoint, and much in Moscow about the Wall Street outlook. But it is suspicious that both interpretations are highly uncomplimentary.

Is the Carnegie method unsuited to politics? It certainly has not been tried much, except by odd people like Gandhi who loved and respected his opponents, and admitted his own mistakes.

Carnegie puts the objection to his method into words all too familiar to the peace worker. "Oh, that stuff is all right for Northcliffe or Rockefeller or a sentimental novelist. But boy! I'd like to see you make it work with the tough babies I have to collect bills from."

Carnegie's answer is worth thinking about. "You may be right. Nothing will work in all cases—and nothing will work with all men. If you are satisfied with the results you are now getting, why change? If you are not satisfied, why not experiment?"

No-one can be satisfied with the present state of international politics. But the power to experiment seems atrophied.

Trust—how can nations trust each other when they are so deeply divided? But have they tried?

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"Dr. Albert Einstein," remarks the Sign, an American Catholic magazine, "bemoans the armaments race and claims that we must do away with mutual fear and distrust. It sounds simple, but would he trust a gangster or a thug?"

It is worth remembering the words of a former Warden of Sing Sing prison which Dale Carnegie mentions: "If you must deal with a crook, there is only one possible way of getting the better of him—treat him as if he were an honourable gentleman. Take it for granted that he is on the level. He will be so flattered by such treatment that he may answer to it, and be proud that someone trusts him."

In international politics it seems customary to regard one's opponent as a crook, or gangster. This is pardonable, perhaps, as international law is sadly like the law of the underworld. When, for example, a notorious murder called Crowley reached the death house at Sing Sing, he did not, according to Dale Carnegie, say: "This is what I get for killing people." What he did say was: "This is what I get for defending myself."

The first necessity for peace workers is to be a bit more objective than this. In doing so they will certainly be accused of moral irresponsibility, of magnifying the sins of their own country, and the virtues of the other fellows. This reveals the attitude of mind that causes much of the trouble; a concern for one's own prestige, and not for making things better.

The idolatrous worship of prestige has cost too many sacrifices. No-one but God has enough wisdom and information to judge the merits of Russia and the West, and no-one else has any business to try.

As a matter of diplomacy, criticism of others is not a productive approach. Dale

Carnegie says: "Criticism is futile because it puts a man on the defensive, and usually makes him strive to justify himself. Criticism is dangerous because it wounds a man's precious pride, hurts his sense of importance and arouses his resentment."

Readers of Peace News may be irritated at having Dale Carnegie quoted at such length. But something drastic is needed to dispel the illusion that the way of understanding and goodwill is not practical, a perfectionist cloak for cowardice and indifference.

It is not suggested that "How to Win Friends and Influence People" is a complete Statesman's Manual. Coercive methods can't be dispersed in many situations. But coercion by itself is useless. Drive one devil out and he returns with seven worse than himself.

The unimaginative insistence in old ways has led to insane destruction and savage tyranny. As Dale Carnegie says: "If you are not satisfied, why not experiment?"

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### IS YOUR . . . REALLY NECESSARY?

**W**E are within a month of Christmas and a week later we shall be closing our books for the year.

Last year the Peace Pledge Union's Headquarters Fund reached the record figure of £581 and we were encouraged to put our aim for 1950 at £650 in view of the need for increased resources if we are to seize all the opportunities with which the present international situation presents us.

At the time of writing the total received in eleven months is £545.

In order to make certain of reaching our aim I am asking you and all other readers of Peace News to make a special effort in the week of Dec. 3-9. Will you give up something during that week—a visit to the cinema, cigarettes, tobacco, chocolate—or something else which is not a necessity, and send the money you would have spent to the Peace Pledge Union's Headquarters Fund to help us in our necessity?

STUART MORRIS,

General Secretary.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

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# Said in the House . . .

November 9

Mr. A. Edward Davies (Lab., Stoke-on-Trent, North): Dr. Ormiston, Regional Deputy Director of Medical Services, told us in 1948, when he was asked to say what was the worst obstacle to health in the Colonies, that it was undernourishment. The people were starved or half-starved and had not the physical energy to produce more goods and more food.

... Some of us are very apprehensive about the economic development taking place in some of the territories today. I have in mind tin, rubber, copper and all those other commodities which are such a profitable source of income in some of the Colonies. When we remember that tin is being sold at £1,100 per ton, it seems fantastic that in Nigeria, for example, men are getting only 1s. 6d. for an eight hour day—it was raised recently from 1s. 3d.—with some welfare services thrown in.

I have had the opportunity of seeing some of these men at work. It is no use seeking to exorcise Communism if great fortunes are being made in these Colonies and the workers are deriving no benefit from them.

November 13

Mr. P. W. Donner (Con., Basingstoke) asked the Secretary of State for War how many recruits have volunteered for service in the Army since the increase in the rates of pay; and how do these figures correspond to the similar period in 1949.

Mr. Strachey: 7,171 recruits were provisionally accepted for the Army between Sept. 1 and Nov. 4, 1950 . . . the total recruitment in the two months' period this year will be approximately double the figure for the corresponding two months of last year.

Mr. G. Thomas (Lab., Cardiff West) asked the Foreign Secretary whether, in view of the continued reports of atrocities in the Korean War, alleged against both sides, he will seek a report from the International Red Cross organisation.

Mr. Ernest Davies: . . . I can assure hon. Members that this matter will continue to receive the closest attention of H.M. Government. I doubt whether this is a matter which could be appropriately handled by the International Red Cross, as it appears to fall outside the scope of its activities.

Mr. P. Donner asked the Foreign Secretary whether H.M. Government will declare their opposition to the inclusion of Communist China on the Security Council until the Chinese Communist forces now invading Tibet withdraw.

Mr. Ernest Davies: No.

Sir H. Williams (Con., Croydon East): . . . People will fight: *pour la patrie* for Fatherland, for King and country.

Mr. S. Silverman (Lab., Nelson and Colne): Is that what they are doing in Korea?

Sir H. Williams: Quite clearly they are fighting in Korea. . . .

Mr. Emrys Hughes (Lab., South Ayrshire): Because they have to.

November 14

Mr. Emrys Hughes (Lab., South Ayrshire): Is the Home Secretary aware that anti-Communists in this country, including the Manchester Guardian, strongly deprecate introducing the methods of the Communist Police State in this country? Is he further aware of the regret we feel that he has made his spiritual home under the bed of the hon. Member for Orpington (Sir Waldron Smithers)?

Mr. Hopkin Morris (Lib., Carmarthen): . . . one of the difficulties of that form of Government (that which exists in Eastern Europe) in any part of the world is that it tends to make even democracies resort to something similar in order to cope with it.

Mr. C. Osborne (Con., Louth): And to survive.

Mr. Hopkin Morris: One of the serious difficulties is that we cannot remain free people—make no mistake about it—in any part of the world when a substantial part of the world lacks complete freedom. That is important.

Viscount Hinchinbrooke (Con., Dorset South): Surely, how far one has to limit freedom depends on the extent to the threat to one's freedom.

November 15

Mr. Emrys Hughes (Lab., South Ayrshire): Can the right hon. Gentleman (the Minister of War) assure us that he will oppose conscription of the Germans against their will, and if he will oppose the construction of a German Army under old ex-Nazi officers, and will he tell us what his attitude is to a tactical air force for Germany and any proposal for an increase in the German Navy.

Mr. Shinwell: It is extremely unlikely that we should proceed with any proposal without consultation first with the German Government and obtaining their consent. Obviously we could not impose upon them any form of conscription or

any organisation for the build-up of forces in Germany without their agreement. As regards the raising of ex-Nazi officered forces, that is a matter that obviously has to be taken into consideration.

November 17

Mr. Emrys Hughes (Lab., South Ayrshire): . . . it is absolutely essential that it should be shown that the one thing we intend to fight in this country is the methods of the Gestapo, the OGPU and the police State, or whatever the name may be under which it appears in this country.

I should like to know what line of demarcation the Home Secretary drew in the case of the delegates from France or Italy (coming to the Sheffield Peace Congress).

Imagine the result this (the refusal of visas) will have upon enlightened opinion in France. Imagine the laughter, the ridicule and jocularly with which they will refer to the Home Office of England in the Lobbies of the Assembly Generale of France when the news reaches them of who was admitted and who was not.

After referring to the Manchester Guardian's leading article quoted in Peace News on Nov. 17, Emrys Hughes continued:

It is because we believe in freedom in the world, in the real sense of that fundamental idea, that we are seizing every possible occasion to bring the glare of publicity to the methods of our own secret police. I know it will be said, and rightly so, that neither the Home Secretary nor the Under-Secretary have the point of view of the totalitarian police chiefs, but they have to be very careful that the apparatus they are creating does not become a sinister Frankenstein in our life which, in turn, may have effects which, they do not contemplate at present.

November 20

Mr. S. Silverman (Lab., Nelson and Colne): Can the Under-Secretary (for Foreign Affairs) say whether it has been made quite clear to the Unified Command—which one gathers, means General MacArthur—that British troops were sent into Korea to save South Korea from aggression by North Korea, and not to fasten upon North Korea the bloodthirsty and corrupt Government of Syngman Rhee?

Mr. Ernest Davies: I cannot accept the implication of the latter part of that supplementary question. The Unified Command is fully aware of the Security Council resolution by which the situation in Korea is governed.

Mr. Driberg (Lab., Maldon): What reply has been received from the Government of the Republic of Korea to the representations by HM Government on the subject of humane treatment of prisoners; and what further action is contemplated?

Mr. Ernest Davies: HM Government have been assured by the Government of the Republic of Korea that all possible steps will be taken to enforce law and order and to prevent excesses. No further action is contemplated at present.

Mr. Donnelly (Lab., Pembroke): In view of the fact that General MacArthur has overtly disobeyed his C-in-C over Formosa, and has had to be publicly rebuked for it (Hon. Members: "Order") what assurance can HM Government give that there will be no repetition of that kind of thing?

Mr. Ernest Davies: I cannot possibly accept the statement made by my Hon. Friend—(Hon. Members: "It is true")—but as regards the action taken by General MacArthur, he is acting in accordance with the resolutions of the Security Council.

Air Commodore Harvey (Con., Macclesfield): The Hon. Member for Pembroke (Mr. Donnelly) has referred to General MacArthur as being rebuked—(Hon. Members: "Of course he was")—There is no proof.

Mr. Blackburn (Lab., Birmingham Northfield): In view of the remarkable successes that General MacArthur has achieved, would it not be better to leave this matter to his discretion—(Hon. Members: "No")—and not to give the impression, as some Left Wing members of the Labour Party are doing, that we are desperately anxious to appease the Communist regime?

A report of this week's Foreign Affairs Debate, which took place after Peace News had gone to press, will appear next week.

November 23

Mr. Russell (Con., Wembley, South) asked the Home Secretary if he has seen a four-page leaflet, which he has been sent, which is being distributed to householders entitled "Civil Defence—What You Should Do Now," and published by the Peace Pledge Union; and if he has any comments to make on it.

Mr. Ede: I have seen this pamphlet. Although it contains gross distortions of fact, I am advised that I have no power to prevent it being circulated. As I have explained on numerous occasions, the defeatist attitude of the pamphlet is quite unwarranted by the facts.

## FACTS AND FIGURES

### XVIII. International Finance & the £

OWING to World War II, Britain became a debtor country. The loss of gold and investments abroad plus new external debts was estimated at £6,000m (Cmd. 7046, p. 11). It became apparent after the sudden stoppage of "Lend-Lease," on Aug. 21, 1945, that the serious position of the Balance of Payments (huge cost of essential imports, only partly covered from proceeds of exports) could not be improved without some U.S. assistance.

The Washington Loan Agreement between the U.S. and the U.K. provided a credit of \$3,750m. (equal £940m.), repayable in yearly instalments of \$120m., beginning in 1951. But the loan had no philanthropic character. The Agreement stipulated that the UK must lift exchange control, within one year, regarding payments to foreign creditors for "current transactions" (commodity trade, services, dividend) so that they should get dollars for sterling claims (i.e. "Convertibility" of sterling into \$). Furthermore, Britain undertook to release substantial amounts from £3,500m. "blocked balances" to India, Egypt, etc., so that they could buy U.S. goods (Cmd. 6708, p.5). Import restrictions on U.S. goods had to be abolished (reintroduced in Aug. 1947).

It is interesting to note that most Conservatives abstained and many voted against the Loan Agreement which was linked up with the acceptance of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the Int. Trade Organisation (ITO). Mr. Churchill actually warned against returning prematurely to "convertibility." (Hansard, Dec. 13, 1945, p.714).

#### THE LOAN AGREEMENT

The chief purpose of the loan, from the British point of view, was to obtain essential food and raw materials from America immediately after the war—whereas other countries without \$-resources had to wait. But, as a result of "decontrol" in the U.S. and harvest failure in Europe, grain prices jumped in America by 50 per cent. in 1946-47 (U.S. Survey of Current Business, Feb. 1948, p.84) thus nearly one-third of the loan was needed to cover price increases and lucky American producers profited.

The "coal crisis" in Feb. 1947 seriously reduced British exports while imports continued to rise. An even greater danger for Britain's depleted gold and dollar reserves resulted from U.S. insistence on convertibility of sterling balances (owned by foreigners) into dollars, because holders of sterling hurried to exchange £ into \$.

In 1947 the UK deficit of \$4,131m. (Cmd. 7928, p.9) exceeded the whole Washington Loan. After five weeks of trial, convertibility had to be suspended—in violation of the Agreement and despite U.S. protest. The variable and uncertain position of dollar reserves was indicated in annual White Papers (Economic Surveys):

1947 (p.12): "Our Balance of Payments in 1946 has been more favourable than expected . . ."

1948 (Foreword): "The Survey shows the dangerously low level to which our gold and dollar reserves would fall if no U.S. aid were available . . . we should be compelled to cut consumption and employment and to abandon many of our development plans."

1949 (p.3): "1948 was a year of great and steady progress. We received generous and timely assistance . . ." (i.e. "Marshall Aid").

Six months later dollar reserves fell to the lowest point and the £ was devalued.

#### IMF'S "RULE OF THE GAME"

It was a "general rule" in the 1920s that the outflow and inflow of gold should be "regulated" by a Central Bank through changes in the Bank Rate. The stupidity of this "rule of the game" was exposed by J. M. Keynes and other economists.

Now it appears that the International Monetary Fund bankers succeeded in imposing a "new rule of the game" upon domestic policies of member-countries. Their views are summarised in the IMF's Annual Reports as follows:

1948 (p.23): "In some countries the exchange rate is becoming a restraining factor on exports and it is adding to the difficulty of earning convertible currencies (i.e. dollars). The IMF . . . has an obligation to keep the exchange rate situation under review and its views may properly find expression in informal consultations with members."

1949 (p.12): "The primary responsibility for restoring the international payments position of the deficit countries rests with themselves. The starting point is . . . the gradual reduction of the present proportion of investment and consumption . . . More must be exported to the \$ area."

"High export prices impose a serious handicap on deficit countries as they endeavour to expand exports to the Western Hemisphere" (p.15). "If this (expansion) is to be achieved, the exchange rate adjustment must make possible a reduction in their export prices . . . It must be accompanied by appropriate fiscal and credit policies" (i.e. "restraint" on domestic consumption and "wage-freeze").

At first Sir Stafford Cripps refused to

carry out the dictum of the IMF and declared that the pound would not be devalued. The inside story of the devaluation is still unknown to the public, but the above quotations from IMF Reports give sufficient hints to reach valid conclusions. It seems that the Chancellor's resistance was finally broken, after a flying visit of the U.S. Secretary of the Treasury to London (July 8, 1949), by the attack of foreign exchange speculators on the pound and the "conspiracy" of the Wall Street press ("the Welfare State on rocks, etc.") which led to the withholding of imports from Britain in expectation of cheaper prices after devaluation.

The profits of speculators in sterling were estimated by Richard Crossman, MP, at £200m. (Sunday Pictorial).

Something must have been wrong with the Chancellor's foreign trade policy, if a decline by £75m. (\$300m.) in the reserves between June and Sept. 18, 1949, made him tremble for the future trade of the sterling area, so that he decided on the devaluation at an excessive rate of 30½ per cent. (The sum of Britain's weekly expenditure on war was about £70m.). The keynote of the Chancellor's devaluation speech was: "We must earn more dollars."

#### "TERMS OF TRADE"

Devaluation implies that Britain has to export more to pay for the same physical volume of imports. Sir Arthur Salter described the situation in the influential "Foreign Affairs" (Washington, Jan. 1950).

"If dollar and pound prices remain unchanged, British goods become 30½ per cent. cheaper in terms of dollars; and at that rate 43.9 per cent. more of British goods and services would have to be sold to earn the same number of dollars as before."

Devaluation, therefore, meant "sacrifices" and the "wage-freeze" policy—to keep costs of production down—was one of the results of it. As to the "benefit" of devaluation, one example may show its significance. The volume and value of textile exports from the UK to the U.S. doubled in the ten months of 1950, compared with 1949, but prices of wool imports to Britain more than doubled. Thus cost has risen, whereas export prices remained nearly unchanged. Consequently, about one-third less was received in dollars for the same quantity of exports. It is true that dollar reserves rose (mainly due to "stockpiling" of Malayan tin and rubber by dollar-area countries) but only a fool can rejoice if he pays 100 per cent. more in order to export at unchanged prices. The fact is that we sold more goods to America and earned less dollars (1948: \$710m., 1949: \$652m.).

As devaluation was decided suddenly, the Chancellor had no time to study foreign trade theories. But some University professors and IMF experts even today adore the "new rule of the game" and counsel the Treasury accordingly.

The damage done to Britain's economy by the deterioration of the terms of trade may be estimated provisionally at £250m. for the last ten months (Cf. Cmd. 8065, p.9). The terms of trade continue to deteriorate, the gap between import and export prices is at present 16 per cent.

#### IMF INTERFERENCE

The interference of the IMF with Britain's trade policy was discussed in the House on Nov. 14 (Hansard, p.136) in connection with the IMF Report to the ITO Conference in Torquay, recommending the lifting of UK restrictions on U.S. imports.

Financial Times, on Nov. 11, pointed out that the IMF had no right to submit such a report to the ITO.

Commenting on this action of the IMF the Daily Express concluded in its Editorial on Nov. 20: "There should be no more interference from this useless organisation. It should be scrapped."

Britain's subscription to the IMF amounts to \$1,300m. of which \$236m. were paid in gold and the rest in sterling (bonds). At the convertibility crisis in 1947 the UK received dollars for her gold quota and for the "favour" of getting back her own money she pays—apart from a "service charge" of ½ per cent., interest rising annually by ½ per cent payable in gold. This lunacy could be terminated by the repayment of dollars and withdrawal from the IMF (Cf. Cmd. 6546, p.22).

#### ARMAMENTS—NEW UNCERTAINTIES

The future position of sterling and its exchange rate largely depend on the finance of armaments—with or without American "aid"—and political developments in the "areas of friction" in Asia and Europe.

As the ECA contributions will gradually decline, whereas Britain may be asked to give financial assistance to the "European Payments Union" and to contribute to Germany's rearmament, the present rise in dollar reserves may perhaps be temporary.

It is important to point out that the UK's short-term sterling liabilities amount to £4,046m. (Cmd. 8065) and that a large part of recent gold and dollar receipts represent "hot money" (speculative capital in form of sterling balances which will be withdrawn immediately if the exchange rate of sterling will appreciate). The increase in reserves in three weeks in Oct. was estimated at \$506m. (Financial Times, Nov. 22), but the inflow of "hot money" confuses the position.

It would be unwise to embark upon new revaluation adventures or radical changes in trade restrictions for the time being.

F.R



# Misfortunes of war

**M**OST people would agree that the fortunes of war have now become misfortunes.

But even "misfortune" is perhaps too kind a word. The American religious weekly, "Gospel Messenger," comments: "For too long Christian people have been calling war a misfortune when they should have called it a sin." The Brethren Church in America has maintained its long stand against war by calling a series of meetings to discuss the present situation, the new conscription legislation, and the possibilities for relief and reconstruction.

Other Churches in the New World have also been active. The General Conference of the Mennonite Church last August reaffirmed its historic pacifist position. The annual Methodist youth conference in Denver endorsed the Quaker peace proposals for easing the tension between East and West, and adopted a report opposing peacetime conscription. And a report on the Church and International Affairs submitted to the general council of the United Church of Canada in September proposed a system of world government to ban war, stating that "even a decision of an international judicial tribunal as to which party is an aggressor does not rid war of the evil inherent in it."

## Unconditional Folly

**I**N this country too, there are signs of the old order changing. A recent commentary in the Church of England Newspaper has this to say on the question of German rearmament:

"The fact that five years after all this was extinguished in Germany by British, American and Russian forces, it should already be flourishing once more in the East of the country and on the verge of restoration in the West provides a cynical reflection on modern total war with its total victory, total defeat, and total stupidity. Unconditional surrender, as we can all see so clearly now, was unconditional folly."

It is also encouraging that at the Hull "Christian, 1950" conference of young people, reported in the Methodist Recorder, "in response to requests by the young people a voluntary session on the pacifist question was held."

As a correspondent points out, if the pacifist cause is to bear fruit it is evident that it must appeal to the young people who are most affected by war and its consequences.

## Moral Authority?

**A**N Asian view of the situation in Korea is given in the Indian independent political weekly, Vigil.

The United Nations had disregarded India's advice not to cross the 38th Parallel, and it did not seem likely that the peace to be imposed under General MacArthur's auspices would be worth "the tremendous cost in blood and suffering the Koreans have paid, and are yet to pay." It might well be a counterpart of the Kuomintang regime, "propped up with American bayonets and the moral authority of the UN."

Whatever good intentions the western democracies may have had, says the paper, are discredited by such statements as that of General Spaatz that "the airplane beat the coolie in Korea." Russian propaganda seized on these indiscretions to work up Asiatic susceptibilities.

## Life and Liberty

**A** DIFFERENT kind of propaganda is that surrounding the famous Stockholm "Peace Petition."

A correspondence in the Oxford Mail has produced support for the petition over the signatures of Rex Warner, Compton Mackenzie, Antoinette Pirie, Barbara Warner, Rosamond Lehmann and Beatrix Lehmann. The principles involved, they say, transcend all party politics, and they appeal for unity "in one common effort to preserve humanity from the consequences of a third, and utterly disastrous, world war."

Editorial comment dissociated itself from this view, while Geoffrey Carnall put the pacifist case that the choice is not preparation for war or loss of liberty. "Preparation for war means

loss of liberty—and life." The most sensible action, he suggests, would be for the British Government to declare: "War is madness; we are going to spend our money on constructive work."

## Peace Builders

**A** MOVEMENT engaged in a concrete peace-making is that known as "Peace Builders." It aims to build bridges between the many small groups all over the world who are doing practical jobs of reconciliation and community growth.

A work-study travel system is already operating in much of western Europe and North America, and it is hoped to develop a chain of "open doors" in Canada, and through contacts in Mexico, Central America, Ceylon and Italy. It is suggested that shipping companies might be approached to enable more young people to travel by working their passage.

The first British team of peace-builders has been founded in Birmingham. The English secretary is Miss Lisbet Folyard, 173 Station Road, Kings Norton, Birmingham 20, and the Peace Builders headquarters is 1109 Sterling Avenue, Berkeley 8, Calif.

USA. Descriptive literature can be obtained from either of these addresses.

## Souvenir

**O**THER bridges are being built by personal contact. Sam Walsh is a leading Bolton pacifist who was disabled in the first World War. This year the pacifist daughter of a former "enemy" brought this message to Bolton from Hamburg:

"Dear Sam—This card I brought from the 1914-1918 war of this place in France where we were enemies, according to our respective High Commands. Today, after 33 years, my daughter brings this greeting to you in friendship and love across the borders. Best wishes for you, your family and all the friends of peace in England. Martin Schroder."

The postcard shows a view of Cambrai, where the two soldiers fought on opposite sides. Last year Sam Walsh and Martin Schroder met again—at a War Resisters' International school in Denmark. The story was prominently featured in the Bolton Evening News.

## N. of P.

**A** CLUMSY attempt at censorship of pacifist publicity is reported from a Leicestershire reader.

He wrote a letter to the local paper in order to find out if anyone was in the habit of reading the copy of Peace News that is displayed in his local library. This appeared in print as follows: "The Public Library Committee places on its hospitable shelves a copy of a newspaper containing news of peace, . . ." thus making nonsense of his appeal to other readers of Peace News to get in touch with him.

Such stupidity, as he points out, can only have the effect of adding to the confusion in the public mind on the subject of "peace" and "Peace."

## Joie de Vivre

**M**OST people at one time or another have suffered in polite silence through an unwanted radio programme, and will sympathise with Mrs. McCready of Littlehampton, who endured one recent Sunday evening the story of "Submarine Truant."

But not everybody has hit on this listener's method of retaliation. Naused by the hero's account of his "joie de vivre" induced by blowing up trains, she resolved to demonstrate her joie de vivre in the things of peace by sending a contribution to PN's Forward Fund. She suggests that others might do likewise, and there should certainly be no difficulty in finding the right occasion.

MARGARET TIMS

# PACIFIST PARADE

# LORELEI IN UNIFORM

By CYRIL HUGHES

**M**ILITARY experts have looked upon the war in Korea as in some ways a rehearsal for World War III, just as the Spanish Civil War was a rehearsal for World War II.

Perhaps "keeping in practice" would be a better description than "rehearsal." Very little new has been tried out in the Korean war. The main attractions, such as bacteriological and atomic destruction, are being reserved for the Big Night.

Nevertheless, one entirely new weapon was recently employed by United Nations' Forces in Korea. We feel it our duty to give full publicity to this particularly horrible experiment, so that the world may have no excuse for not knowing what is in store for it.

We quote the Exchange war correspondent's report:

"Lullabies crooned by two night-club singers are luring the Communists down from their mountain-side trenches . . . Every night two petite South Korean girls lie in foxholes among the forward positions singing softly into a microphone accompanied by a violin. A few yards away, a great amplifier sends songs rippling over the battlefield by means of loudspeakers, which can be heard three miles away.

"Their songs, the favourite of which is 'Come Back to Sorrento,' are punctuated by coaxing appeals to the enemy to come out and receive the good treatment that the UN Forces give to their prisoners. The girls, who are non-commissioned Army officers wearing South Korean Army uniform, are accompanied by three musicians who used to play in a bar in Taegu, and a squad to protect the party from snipers."

The only humane thing in this report is the bit about protecting the party from snipers, which is something all crooners ought to have, even in night clubs.

We can only regret that the United Nations have sunk so low as to defy the International Red Cross and the Geneva Convention by employing a weapon so incomparably vile than explosive bullets or poison gas.

**A**ND the thing may not stop there. Petite South Korean wenches are bad enough, but American crooners are bound to jump at the precedent and seek to do their bit for the war effort under protected conditions. No matter how disciplined a Communist army may be, it is bound to be driven insane if subjected to days and nights of amplified Tin Pan Alley and the saccharine seduction of Hollywoodian females. And the Red Army Choir is bound to retaliate with one of those intolerable songs about social significance in a frozen swamp, which means mass-suicide amongst the UN Forces.

The prospect is appalling. But that is not all. On the battlefield the new weapon has a three-mile limit, but we cannot expect it to be confined to the battlefield. There will be, without a doubt, guided rocket missiles with phonographic war-heads, for use against cities. A descending basinful of amplified Sinatra or one of those tight-

bosomed, loose-lipped American cuties, would be enough to demoralise any civilian population. And how long could Londoners endure to hear sobbing Slav voices filling the skies above them? Singing, probably, the latest hit from the Moscow Palais de Danse:

"My Grandmother came from Omsk, So did my Grandfather, I love you and our great leader, Stalin, My handsome Stakhanovite."

Those of us concerned with seeing that war retains something of its traditional humanity must decide quickly what is to be done about this.

It is useless to try to have the new weapon banned. Each side is certain to employ it in the belief that it can use it more effectively than the other. The most we can hope for is to prevail upon the chiefs of the rival Croon War Units to see that their output is in keeping with the high purposes of the United Nations and the October Revolution.

**P**PRIVATE FRANCIS VENUTO, leader of the two psychological warfare units in Korea, has already, to his credit, realised that what is meat to a sophisticated American bobbysoxer may be poison to an uncivilised Communist soldier, and has experimented with different forms of ammunition.

"We feed 'em lots of hymns," he said, "but once in a while we toss in a polka. They like it."

Choosing ammunition that the enemy likes is a gentlemanly touch worthy of a world that goes to church before destroying itself. But the idea of singing hymns to the enemy needs second, and even third thoughts. A hymn out of church is always a potential susceptibility-hurter, as we discovered once when we had to submit to the attentions of a dentist who insisted on singing "Change and decay in all around I see" as he worked.

No. What is required to make the new weapon tolerable is not hymns, or polkas, but a complete change of theme and personnel. Away with the crooner and the ersatz sugar and the jam-sessions as unworthy of the freedom-loving peoples of the world.

Let the first Russian soldier with snow on his boots to cross the frontier of Western Europe be greeted by a beefy Italian tenor with the sympathetic observation that his tiny hand is frozen. Better still, let us employ a squad of sopranos to form the first line of defence. We could, if pressed, name half-a-dozen famous prima donnas who could deter an aggressor far more effectively than any number of atomic bombs.

Many more suggestions will readily come to mind. We would merely add, tentatively, one more. Why should this new weapon, modified on the lines indicated, be confined to the Hot War? We feel sure that the present cat-and-dog fights which pass for UN Assembly meetings would be vastly improved if replaced by a programme of arias and recitatives by the principal performers, with choruses of hyenas, jackals and stoo-pigeons.

Here is a challenge to our modern composers. As the best of them are pacifists, the results could be fruitful.

## OUR CONTRIBUTORS

**DR. E. L. ALLEN:** History Lecturer at the University of Durham. Author of "Pacifism and the Free Society," a reply to John Middleton Murry's book, "The Free Society."

**HAROLD BING:** Recently succeeded H. Runham-Brown as the Chairman of the War Resisters' International. History Lecturer at Loughborough College.

**ADRIAN BRUNEL:** Playwright and film director. Among the best known films he has directed are "While Parents Sleep," "The Constant Nymph" and "Badger's Green."

**GEOFFREY CARNALL:** Former relief worker in Calcutta and a student of Indian affairs.

**DR. ALEX COMFORT:** Author, radio critic, poet, sociologist. Wrote the recent Peace Pledge Union leaflet on Civil Defence.

**REV. PATRICK FIGGIS:** Former General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union. Minister of Regent Square Presbyterian Church.

**REV. G. E. HICKMAN JOHNSON:** Vice-President of the Methodist Peace Fellowship and one time secretary of the Methodist Missions Department.

**ELIZABETH HUGHES** was one of a group of Quaker relief workers asked by Mao Tze-tung to assist in relief and hospital work behind the Communist lines in China during the civil war.

**HEINZ KRASCHUTZKI:** Peace News Correspondent in Berlin. Indicted for high treason in Germany in 1927 he subsequently spent some years in a Spanish prison but since 1945 has been working in Germany.

**F. A. LEA:** Author, editor of Peace News from 1946 to 1949.

**MICHAEL LINDSAY** lived and worked in China with the Communists for some time, giving them technical assistance and later teaching. Now lecturing in Economics at the University of Hull.

**LADY PARMOOR:** Vice-President of the National Peace Council and Treasurer of the Friends Peace Committee. Widow of Britain's representative at the League of Nations.

**DR. IORWERTH C. PEATE:** Head of the Folk Department of the National Museum of Wales.

**H. S. L. POLAK** spent ten years with Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa. Former editor of Indian Opinion and advisor to the Indian Community in South Africa.

**SIR STANLEY UNWIN,** of the publishing firm of Allen and Unwin, is the President of the International Publishers' Congress, and author of a number of works on publishing and bookselling.

**JOHN VINCENT:** Clergyman and conscientious objector in the second World War. Author of "Inside the Asylum."

**ROY WALKER:** Authority on Indian pacifism. Has recently published a book on Hamlet.

**WILFRED WELLOCK:** Former MP for Stourbridge. Author of a recent Peace News pamphlet: "Gandhi as a Social Revolutionary."

## I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS  
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C1

Pilgrimage  
Davies: wit  
C. E. Rav  
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## G. M. L. D.

Pilgrimage of Peace, by George M. L. Davies: with a Memoir by the Rev. Prof. C. E. Raven, DD. The Fellowship of Reconciliation, 38 Gordon Square, London, W.C.1. 5s.

ONE of my first recollections of the author of this book is of a meeting of undergraduates, about thirty years ago, addressed by Dr. Raven and George Davies. For me, as I am sure for many others, it was a notable occasion: I left it finally convinced of the fundamental rightness of the Christian pacifist way of life.

Since those far-off days, I came to know George Davies intimately as a friend and counsellor. It is however a special pleasure to meet him once more, in this book, with his distinguished companion of that Aberystwyth meeting.

Dr. Raven has written an admirable memoir of this exceptional man. George Davies was one of "those to whom the miseries of the world are misery, and will not let them rest": it was the burden of that misery which, after his valiant and noble pilgrimage, overwhelmed him. The present volume, prepared by George Davies before his death, is a selection of writings which give a very clear picture of his personality. In date they extend from 1915 to 1947—the period of his "pilgrimage of peace." His "Cambridge 1915" is a particularly fine piece of writing; his "Prophet of Peace, 1936" is a gracious and moving tribute to the late Reverend John Morgan Jones of Merthyr whom, of all men, I think, he admired most.



If one were to try to distil George Davies' message into a few words, they would be, I believe, that "all things are forgiven, and it would be strange not to forgive." This (as all who knew him would expect) is the underlying theme of this book: in 1915 he stressed "the loving kindness of the Lord," in 1920 "the magic of a higher law," in 1930 he prophesied that our civilisation was crumbling "because it denies the first condition of human unity—the forgiveness of the offender." His questionings 20 years ago remain pertinent today: "What spiritual foundations underlie the Pacts which pledge us not to fight unless we all fight against the common aggressor? Their new world is still to be governed by the old sanctions—Force working on Fear."

In the last essay in this book, George Davies shows how some eminent pacifists "caught in the stream" of popularity lost their witness, but this was not true of Keir Hardie whose name unfortunately appears in the list. The volume has an excellent photographic study of George Davies but I should have preferred a photograph which showed "the candour and sympathy of his eyes."

For those who were privileged to know George Davies, this is a volume which will bring anew to them the graciousness of his friendship; to every reader it will reveal in large measure one of the saints of the 20th century.

IORWERTH C. PEATE

## Half-forgotten

British Politics since 1900, by D. C. Somervell. Andrew Dakers Ltd., 15s.

THIS is not a history of England during the past half-century, but as the title implies, an account of politics and political personalities, and within those limits it gives us the most racy and readable account of the modern English political scene I have met.

The author writes with obvious first-hand knowledge of many of the events and persons described. Younger readers will be introduced in a very lively way to Asquith and Grey, Lloyd George and MacDonald, of whom they have heard their elders talk so much, while older readers will find many half-forgotten happenings recalled with a freshness that makes them seem to belong to yesterday.

Mr. Somervell achieves a considerable measure of impartiality without concealing his own views. And even though he has little sympathy for pacifism, pacifists who have not lost all sense of humour will enjoy such a remark as this about the COs of the First World War:

"The real pacifists, the men who condemned war as such, were a comparatively harmless sect, like teetotallers and vegetarians, a peculiar people who would make few converts!"

Of brilliant and pithy characterisation let me give one example:

"MacDonald, handsome, emotional, warm-hearted and worldly-minded; Snowden a cripple, clear-headed, cold, intense and bitter."

There are many political judgments which I should dispute if space permitted but for a picture of those who have strutted on the British political stage from the time of Salisbury to that of Attlee this volume is well worth reading.

HAROLD F. BING

## How governments treat books

By SIR STANLEY UNWIN, LL.D.

Abridged from an article in "Edition," journal of the Swiss Publishers' Corporation. Sir Stanley Unwin's complete treatise on this subject is available in pamphlet form "How Governments Treat Books." Allen and Unwin, 6d.

BEFORE the war, little more than ten years ago, scarcely any country except the United States taxed books, and the USA confined themselves to books in English, thus, in effect, discriminating against the British Commonwealth.

Few countries obstructed in any way the entry of book post packages, even if a few delayed parcels or freight shipments. For that happy state of affairs the world owed some thanks to the International Publishers' Congress which consistently strove not merely to remove existing barriers but, still more important, to prevent any new ones being erected.

Today, following a war for freedom of thought, governments seem to take a delight in hampering, though in varying degrees, the free interchange of literature.

## SOME INGENIOUS OBSTRUCTIONS

HERE are just a few examples of direct taxation. The countries are named alphabetically:

BELGIUM imposes a 4½ per cent. "taxe de transmission" on a value calculated as Frs 7,000 per 100 kilos.

It will be observed that already with my first example books are being taxed by weight—not a method of assessing their value one expects a cultured country to adopt. But the next case is worse.

BRAZIL has a 5 per cent. tax on all foreign payments, import duty of Cruz 1.54 per kilo on books in full cloth and leather binding. Handling charges include a 2 per cent. social levy on the invoice value of the consignment and a postal levy of Cruz 2.50 per parcel up to 2 kilos. The total handling charges amount to about 3 to 6 times the import duty and easily represent 10 per cent. and more of the value of the whole consignment.

Further, consular invoices costing nearly £5 are required on all packets of a value exceeding £9 and a fine is payable by the importer equal and in addition to import duty when consular invoices are not provided.

## CHEAPER TO PAY FINE

It is often cheaper to pay the fine instead of the Consular charge. This, all the more so, because it may happen that the fine has to be paid even when a Consular Invoice accompanies the consignment, if, for example, books not fully bound in cloth or leather which should be exempted from any import duty are charged on the same invoice with those liable for duty.

Again, if a few catalogues are included, the import duty for the whole consignment may be increased to Cruz 5.10 per kilo, which is the import duty on foreign publicity material.

That any books get through to Brazil at all indicates the hunger there is for them. But the fact that the Brazilian Government thinks it appropriate to classify bookshops in the same very high income tax as brothels is disconcerting.

BRITAIN. Restrictions are no longer formidable. Books from the Dominions (other than Canada), the Colonies and most of the sterling and soft currency areas can now be freely imported under open general licence. It is only importations from hard currency countries that are limited and we are free to import twice as much from the USA as before the war.

CANADA has an 8 per cent. sales tax from which she has not yet followed Britain's example of wholly exempting books. The tax is payable on entry, thus involving the would-be reader or bookseller in a journey to the nearest customs post office.

The purchaser of pornographic magazines is presented with no such difficulty. They are not liable to sales tax and enter Canada freely.

FRANCE: Until December, 1949, there was, in theory, no duty upon books entering France, but in practice the story is very different.

There is a production tax levied not merely on the cost of the books but on the postage. Then there is a charge on every parcel, and in addition, in some cases, a transaction tax. It may take a bookseller a large slice out of his day having all his parcels checked by the inspectors, and then instead of having them delivered to him, he has to hire a van to fetch them. Finally, when he has sold the books he has to pay a turnover tax and a local tax.

As if that were not enough, last December the French Government released books from the necessity of an import licence and at the same time re-imposed an import duty on all leather-bound books which for some years had been suspended.

## BRIBERY SAVES TIME AND MONEY

ICELAND, which always prided itself that it didn't and never would tax books, has fallen a prey to the disease, and now imposes a 6 per cent tax plus 1 per cent. for the licence, plus 2 per cent. sales tax.

ITALY now levies a 10 per cent. "import tax" plus 2-3 per cent. local tax.

NORWAY has a 6½ per cent. ad valorem sales tax included in retail price from which books are not yet exempted.

THE PHILIPPINES lets in USA publications free of duty, but taxes all other books 10 per cent.

SWITZERLAND has a Customs Tax (Handlungs-Gebühr) of Frs 5 per Kilo plus turnover tax of Frs 27 per 100 kilos. The net revenue derived from these taxes is in most cases negligible and in some the cost of obstructing the book packages and collecting the tax may even exceed the receipts.

Apparently in some countries it is cheaper to bribe the Customs officials than to pay the taxes. Indeed, this is in some instances the recognised method of paying the officials, who thus have a vested interest in maintaining the maximum obstruction.

## HARD ON THE STUDENT

THE uncertainties and delays all these many forms of obstruction involve are not only vexatious, but press particularly hard upon students in foreign countries.

British medical and technical works have in large measures displaced German textbooks, but in some of those parts of the world where they are most needed the flow is reduced to a mere trickle. A doctor in Spain or an engineer in Japan may thus be kept waiting almost indefinitely for information readily obtainable from British books.

And, in the case of Spain, not merely books themselves but Spanish translations which were appearing in considerable numbers have been completely held up owing to the failure of the Spanish authorities to allocate any portion of the large amounts of sterling derived, for example, from the sale of oranges, to the payment of even the most modest sums for translation rights.

Happily, since the war more English books have been translated into other languages than at any previous period, and this we owe in large part to the work of the British Council in promoting a knowledge of English and the British way of life.

Other obstacles, however, sprang up. For example, lovers of English literature in Israel and Iceland have found their supplies almost completely cut off owing to the unwillingness of their governments to grant even the most trifling priority to books in their sterling allocations.

## LITERATURE JUST A "COMMODITY"

IN some cases the ill-treatment of books is due to thoughtlessness. It often occurs through treating them as "just another commodity," as a British Chancellor of the Exchequer wanted to do when he said, in justification of levying a purchase tax upon them, that he could not distinguish between books and boots.

Fortunately he was soon to recognise their difference. On May 3, 1940, a letter appeared in The Times:

"Emphasis has properly been placed on the fact that the tax on purchases will not be levied on food for the body, but in characteristic English fashion there has been no reference to food for the mind. . . . The book trade is staggering under a series of blows, of which war risks insurance and acute paper shortage are but two. It would indeed be ironical if it were completely knocked out by a levy on the purchase of books—in effect by a tax on knowledge. . . . It would be humiliating if in a war for freedom of thought the sale of books in which man's highest thoughts are enshrined should be hampered by taxation."

The Publishers' Association led by Mr. Geoffrey Faber, in presidency at the time, organised a most successful campaign in support of my letter, and no one was more surprised than the Chancellor of the Exchequer at the unanimity with which intelligent people in all sections of the community rose against a tax on knowledge. As a result, books were exempted from purchase tax and still are free of all taxation in Britain—something of which we may justly be proud.

## CHILDREN'S BOOK SCHEME WRECKED BY OFFICIALISM

SINCE the publication of this article in pamphlet form, Sir Stanley Unwin has added the following comment:

I said that in Britain restrictions were no longer formidable. I spoke too soon. I underestimated the delight some officials appear to take in obstructing their circulation. . . .

An ingenious scheme was devised and successfully launched whereby children could obtain books by collecting and exchanging sets of sixpenny "Book Tallies"—sets in themselves of educational value. The immediate governmental response was to decree that, although books are free of Purchase Tax, these Book Tallies were liable to 100 per cent. Tax. No question of revenue arises because if this edict is not rescinded the scheme cannot be carried on. It is thus a question whether or not an excessively rigid interpretation of the Purchase Tax regulations should be used to stop a valuable educational experiment, and prevent children acquiring books by novel means.

No intelligent person would pretend that this is what Parliament intended by the Purchase Tax.

## CHRISTMAS BOOK SECTION

## I would give . . .

TREFOR DAVIES makes some suggestions for Christmas gifts

TO the earnest reformer, books are the obvious choice for Christmas presents. If carefully chosen, they provide an unequalled opportunity of doing good to relatives and friends, while at the same time giving considerable pleasure and discharging a duty.

The agony of choosing gifts, too, is not so acute once the whole wide range has been narrowed to this one fruitful and varied field. Indeed, knowing that I could postpone my own purchases for weeks yet, and that all I had to do was to advise others, I have spent a thoroughly enjoyable afternoon rummaging in bookshops, and an evening browsing happily through recent literary periodicals.



Most Christians, particularly those who belong to the evangelical denominations, know and love "Pilgrim's Progress," and thousands of speakers who have never read the work respect it as a mine of quotations and metaphors. For these the best choice is, I am very glad to be able to say, Vera Brittain's *In the Steps of John Bunyan* (Rich & Cowan, 15s.), for most of them know little or nothing about the life of the tinker of Bedford, a man who, I once heard it said, could have written the Book of Revelation.

There are some other good biographical works, *Private View of a Public Man* (Allen & Unwin, 10s. 6d.), a life of Leyton Richards, of Carr's Lane Chapel, Birmingham, written by his widow, Edith, far more successfully than people usually manage to depict those whom they have known intimately; and Paul Gliddon's *But Who was Don Robins?* (Clarke, 7s. 6d.), a memoir of a young airman who became a doughty pacifist, a fervent preacher of the Gospel, and before he was fifty burned himself out in eager Christian service.

Herbert G. Wood has written, and few could have done it better, *Frederick Denison Maurice* (Cambridge University Press, 10s. 6d.), the life of one of the founders of the Christian Socialist Movement. This and *The Letters of William Morris to His Family and Friends* (edited and introduced by Philip Henderson, Longman's, 25s.), are ideal reminders, to ourselves and others who need them, that Socialism was once a morality, a way of living, not merely a political programme. Much of this, too, can be found in reflecting on the careers of two other reformers, one of whom has so recently left us. *The Anarchist Prince* (Boardman, 21s.), by George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic, is the first full-length biography of Prince Peter Kropotkin, the author of "Mutual Aid" and, now available in the St. James' Library Edition, and wonderful value for the price is *Bernard Shaw, His Life and Personality*, by Hesketh Pearson (Collins, 8s. 6d.). Incidentally, there also appears in a popular series *In Praise of Bernard Shaw* (Muller, 2s. 6d.), a neat little anthology which is almost as cheap as a Christmas card—unless it is an Endsleigh Card, of course.

Two anthologies deserve special consideration. *A Year of Grace* (Gollancz, 10s. 6d.), a truly remarkable collection to express a mood about man and God, and *A Solovoyov Anthology* (SCM, 18s.), edited by S. L. Frank, which is worth the money but, unfortunately, too expensive to do much to familiarise English readers with a greatly-neglected Russian prophet.

Science, Liberty and Peace (4s.), by Aldous Huxley, is again available. E. N. Mozley's *The Theology of Albert Schweitzer* (Black, 7s. 6d.), has a long epilogue by Schweitzer himself, and Einstein's essays, written between 1934 and 1950, *Out of My Later Years* (Thames & Hudson, 15s.), are issued over here after very big sales in America.



If all these are rather heavy, perhaps your friend would like one of the following. There would be time for you to skim through them before wrapping them up. *Court Circular* (Joseph, 10s. 6d.), by Sewell Stokes, a former probation officer, *Roads to Ruin* (Joseph, 12s. 6d.), by E. S. Turner, the shocking history of social reform, the frontispiece of which is a Low drawing of Col. Blimp defending himself as he declares, "Gad sir, reforms are alright as long as they don't change anything," or *Facades and Faces* (Murray, 8s. 6d.), by Osbert Lancaster who, although he contributes to the Daily Express, really cannot, surely, see the ridiculous side of human authority so clearly and still believe all its absurd pretences.

For those who are still not suited there are, of course, book tokens . . .

T. RENDALL DAVIES



# HOW MODERN TYRANNY WILL BE RESISTED

Unpopular Essays, by Bertrand Russell. Allen & Unwin. 8s. 6d.

**T**HE new collection of Lord Russell's essays reveals perhaps more clearly than any of his earlier non-technical works the scope and the limitations of his intellect.

For a generation which is almost without exception indebted to him, either for his teaching or for the effects of that teaching on the climate of thought, Russell's progress from rationalism and pacifism to some of his reported utterances on the atomic bomb may suggest a decline of intellectual force, but the essays do not suggest it.

What limits his perception and interpretation of the East-West conflict, or rather the value of his comment on it, is something which appeared very forcibly in his Reith lectures—the logical method is still faultless, but he is discussing, in terms of academic conceptions of politics, a subject where sociology, anthropology, and social psychiatry have already supplied a completely new outlook, and Russell is not in touch with it.

It is this attempt to deal with the modern situation in superseded terms which seems to me the main criticism of his analysis. Russell takes the view that modern technology renders a unified world inevitable: that unification under the Americans, if war cannot be averted, would be intellectually tolerable, while unification under Communism would not. He also equates the Communist philosophy both with mediaeval asceticism and with Nazism. It is very doubtful whether this analysis can be supported at all in psychological terms.

Not all tyrannies are psychologically equivalent. Communism differs radically from Nazism in the fact that for all its irrationalities it possesses a large number of life-centred elements which were totally absent in all types of Fascism. The outcome of world domination by Communist régimes, however serious to the Western conception of intellectual freedom, would certainly depend on how many of these life-centred components persisted in them.

Communism has so far achieved a high degree of sociality at the expense of personal liberty, while America has retained a measure of intellectual liberty (it pays to remember that Russell almost starved there as the penalty of his heterodoxy) at the price of losing its sociality.

There seems better psychiatric ground for assuming that an American hegemony would collapse through its own poor mental health into psychosomatic disease and

public psychopathy than that a Russian hegemony would long persist without a radical alteration of its most tyrannical features.

Both tyranny and the American way of life are biologically unworkable at the mental-health level.

Sociology seems to me to suggest that modern societies of all kinds are basically split between power-centred and life-centred individuals, the former predominantly in the mechanism of government, both in the East and in the West. World Government offers very little prospect that the power-centred element will be controlled, since they are by nature the controllers.

Psychiatric sociology seems to me to demand the supersession of the machinery by which power-centred individuals express themselves by the growth of individual resistance. I disagree with Russell that such resistance is impossible within a modern tyranny—it will express itself as loss of morale and as sickness where it cannot express itself as open protest.

What does appear certain is that however grave the risks of a prolonged tyranny on a semi-religious basis, Anglo-American society could not, in view of its cultural pattern, survive a war in which it made extensive use of atomic bombs. The guilt-reaction of Hiroshima is already the key determinant in American hatred and fear of Russia, and is manifesting itself in such projections as the Communist witch-hunt. An atomic war against Russia would lay the foundations of far more serious mental disorder, leading in all probability to psychopathies in public life quite as gross as Hitler's anti-semitism.

We ought to view Russell's analysis in the light of work like that recently published in Professor Pear's symposium for the United Nations Association (Psychological Factors in Peace and War, Hutchinson, 1950) which underlines some of the points I have made.

What seems clear is this—a war against Communism today would be quite as much a form of social mental disorder as was the war against the Kaiser. By accepting it we destroy our chances of being culturally able to withstand the tyrannical component of Marxism if that should become necessary.

Russell seems to me to be contributing unwittingly to that process. It is bad psychiatry to begin with fears and threats—and psychiatric methods are those which offer our best, and perhaps our only, hope.

ALEX COMFORT

# The Christian Pacifist position today . . . .

The Enthronement of Love, by John Ferguson, M.A., B.D. The Fellowship of Reconciliation, 38 Gordon Square, W.C.1. Price 6s.

**M**R. FERGUSON is a lecturer in Classics in the University of Durham and belongs to a group of younger Christian pacifists who, lately, have been "thinking out afresh from the beginning our fundamental beliefs and the practical challenge of peace-making in the new, atomic, post-war situation."

One of the results of such group thinking is the present volume, which is really a re-statement of the pacifist position brought right up to date: there is, therefore, something of a group mind behind the book, though the author is careful to state in his preface that on occasion he has not hesitated to set forth views which are his own (as, indeed, is the book itself), and which are not shared by all the members of the group.

The author's aim is to challenge Christian thinking afresh: his eagerness to stab the Churches awake with the irreconcilable anomaly of professing allegiance to Jesus as God, of accepting His teachings as God's word to men, and, at the same time, of supporting war with all its diabolical, modern methods, is very obvious and stimulating.

## The churches and war

In seeking this aim, Mr. Ferguson has followed three lines of study. He has, first of all, presented (as the reviewer thinks, with absolute fairness and understanding), the response of the Churches to the challenge of war. In this section we have a summary and criticism of the main documents drawn up by the various Churches or Church groups, such as "Atomic Warfare and the Christian Faith," produced under the aegis of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, "The Church and the Atom," being the report of the Anglican Church, "The Era of Atomic Power," produced by the British Council of Churches, and the statement on the question by the World Council of Churches at Amsterdam.

From all these it is very clear indeed, that the Churches are most uneasy in their minds and are divided in their views. One statement speaks of the "dilemma," another of "the division," another of "agonising perplexity": Amsterdam came out in all honesty with "three voices."

The irresistible logic with which Mr. Ferguson deals with this situation and shows how the "conscience of deeply sincere Christians is dragged down by force of circumstances" (of which the various references in the Christian News-Letter form a clear illustration), is very refreshing.

Secondly, Mr. Ferguson examines the way of Christ—His teaching, His life and example, His living presence as power. Victor Gollancz and Howard Spring are very usefully enlisted as commentators on that

teaching, and John Wesley is called in to defend the author's interpretation against the condemnation of being "Pelagian".

Incidentally, in his foreword, Professor C. E. Raven rejoices that at last someone is bold enough to speak a good word for one whose doctrine has been denounced as heretical.

In this section the centre is, of course, reached at the Cross as revealing the heart of the eternal God. There is seen God's answer to the evil in the world — "a love that reveals itself first in positive and constructive act, and secondly in suffering and death, and it was this last which gave the ultimate victory." But the Cross is not the end; "the Church has survived by its consciousness of the abiding presence of Jesus." Is it conceivable that the "Christ who dwells in our hearts by faith" would take part in atom-bombing, machine-gunning, bayonet-fighting?

## Early Christians and armed forces

The next chapter is a detailed study of the attitude of the Early Church, a most valuable summary of early Christian documents, and quotations from the Early Christian Fathers down to the end of the Third Century, together with various references made by Bishops and clergy to the end of the Ninth Century. Much careful research lies behind this study from which the following conclusion is reached:

For three centuries Christians had scruples about joining the armed forces, converted soldiers often remained in, at times uneasily; some Church groups refused to accept them until they had laid down their arms. The majority of the leading writers were pacifists. Thus there was, in the Early Church, a tension, as there is today.

The rest of the book attempts to deal with the problems of the Pacifist, Policies of Peace Making, and finally, the Personal Response. There is much careful thinking, covering a very wide range, in these sections. The reviewer cannot think of any major problem facing a Christian pacifist that is not fairly and squarely considered here.

Reinhold Niebuhr's philosophy, and his criticism of pacifism are frequently referred to, especially is his doctrine of "compromise," expounded in "Moral Man and Immoral Society," faithfully dealt with. Facts and figures of great value are to be found in his discussion of "Policies of Peace Making," whilst under the heading of "Personal Response," many very useful suggestions are made concerning the contribution individual Christian pacifists can make towards promoting World Peace.

The author is to be warmly congratulated on presenting the Christian pacifist position up to date, and the FoR on publishing such a well-produced and printed volume at, for these days, so reasonable a price.

G. E. HICKMAN JOHNSON

\* Those who deny the Catholic doctrine of original sin. . .

## GROUND FOR HOPE

Signs of Hope, by Elton Trueblood, Student Christian Movement, 7s. 6d.

**T**HIS book consists of five lectures recently delivered in the USA. The title is arresting.

This winter with a group of friends I have been studying a small book on the Hebrew prophet Jeremiah with the title "Prophet of Hope." Throughout our study the recurring question has been "Does Jeremiah offer us solid ground for hope today?" It is the natural question to ask in an apparently hopeless age.

What ground for hope does Mr. Trueblood offer? There are five lines of thought

(I) Even the worst age produces its great men. Therefore men (and women!) of outstanding moral and intellectual status will appear today.

(II) Despite the cleavage between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant Church, the Churches today—particularly in the East—are coming closer together: a hopeful move.

(III) Our Christian theology is more realistic. We no longer imagine that education, together with the welfare state will put us on our feet. Man is capable of sinking to the depths as well as of rising to the heights. Redemption is necessary: it is provided in Jesus Christ. (This point is worth thinking about. Is it really a hopeful sign? If so, how?).

(IV) Laymen are beginning to have their proper place in the Church's activities; the leadership is no longer left to the clergy and ministers. Free churchmen: note the word "beginning!" But the point is valid.

(V) Outside the official church small groups of committed Christian people are coming together (e.g. Iona Community). They are the pioneers of a more hopeful day.

Not an original or profound book. But one that gives a bird's eye view of a subject of which many people know nothing. It is easy to read, and likely to stimulate interest. It might well be put in the hands of the 17-year-old who is interested in Christianity and who is beginning to think.

(Rev.) PATRICK H. FIGGIS

# THE FELLOWSHIP of RECONCILIATION

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man. It is an inspiration for today

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION, 38 GORDON SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1



## Freedom

Conditions of Freedom, by John Macmurray. Faber, 6s.

THIS book is as lucid and appealing as anything yet written by the author. It should certainly warm the heart of any pacifist. The chapters were originally given as lectures in Canada and one is not surprised to hear that they made a deep impression on the audience.

The argument is not a new one. Those who are familiar with Bergson's *Two Sources of Morality and Religion* will trace its influence throughout.

Macmurray draws a distinction between society, which is based on co-operation for common purposes, and community or fellowship, which is sharing in a common life. The former calls for organisation and needs the work of the politician. It can yield a measure of security, but that security is very questionable in our day. Freedom can only be realised by the individual as he shares it with others, it calls therefore for a community based on friendship and love. We need today a world community. But this cannot be reached simply by organisation. We are asking from our statesmen what they can never give us, and we must look to spiritual forces, to religion, to create and maintain the genuine and enduring unity without which we shall perish.

The time has come for some group to set itself to achieve such community. As such it must be pacifist. Its refusal to resist by arms will be the symbol and expression of its will to live with others in equality and without fear and to invite them to share life with it on the same terms.

E. L. ALLEN

## SCHWEITZER

Albert Schweitzer, a Vindication, by George Seaver. Jas. Clarke, 6s.

MR. MIDDLETON MURRY'S *The Challenge of Schweitzer* was his worst book, being a criticism, not of Schweitzer's own religious and political philosophy, but of a travesty of it formed from an inadequate knowledge of his works. Its chief merit was that of focussing serious attention on a thinker who has too long been the object of respectful incomprehension. Mr. Seaver has now taken up this challenge, and in doing so, produced a serviceable supplement to his *Albert Schweitzer, the Man and his Mind*.

But Mr. Seaver attempts two tasks of unequal magnitude, which might better have been kept apart: first, to correct Murry's misrepresentations of Schweitzer's thought; and secondly, to vindicate Schweitzer's thought against Murry's wherever they genuinely differ. And he has been a good deal more successful with the first than the second.

He demonstrates conclusively that many of the contradictions with which Murry charges Schweitzer are either superficial or non-existent; he does not, despite a fairly wide acquaintance with Murry's writings in general, come within miles of substantiating his contention that Schweitzer is "a much profounder thinker." On the contrary, he himself displays a complete (and by no means sufficiently respectful) incomprehension of Murry's standpoint on some of the fundamental questions at issue.

To make good this criticism, however, I would have to write a third book as large as either of these—and happily there is no danger of that. The two great protagonists will always be their own best expositors.

F. A. LEA

## THREE VIEWS ON CHINA

The New China, by Michael Lindsay and Turnstile Press, 5s.

THIS is an illuminating small book about China today. It opens with an up-to-date introduction by Kingsley Martin, and includes four woodcuts, typical of art in Communist China, showing scenes from Chinese life. A section of the book is made up of translations of recent Communist documents, followed by a useful index.

It is a pity that Professor van der Sprenkel's very enthusiastic article should be the first in the book. I do not doubt that all he says is true; but I am afraid that his lack of criticism of the Communists, except of their newspapers, will tend to make the average reader discredit his report.

Robert Guillain's reports translated by L. F. Duchene, have appeared in shortened form in the *Manchester Guardian*. He is rather more sceptical about the Communist regime, but nevertheless, he stresses that it is remarkably uncorrupt, if sometimes inconsistent.

Michael Lindsay knows the Chinese Communists well, and is often spoken of by them. He lived with them in Yen'an for several years and visited China again last year. He stresses that although Britain was swift to recognise the new Chinese Government, Sino-British relations have not improved, due to suspicion and inexperience on the part of the Chinese, and on Britain's side, inability to make our aims clear, and fear of becoming too involved with a Communist country.

The documents include a report made by Mao Tze-tung on Christmas Day, 1947. It describes how at last the Communists had taken the offensive after being for years on the defensive, and how they could make full use of the situation. I saw this report when I was in Communist China and noticed that it was carefully studied at a meeting of all the hospital staff with whom we were working in a remote and primitive village. Many of these workers had never seen piped water or a railway, yet they had voluntarily left their homes to help their "cause." Other equally interesting documents include the texts of the recent Sino-Soviet agreements and also the Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference of September, 1949.

Because the contributions to this book were made quite independently, there is some repetition. Each writer mentions the fact that, as Communists have had to concentrate on reorganising the towns and cannot continue their policy of land reform, they are losing the confidence of the peasants, until now their staunch supporters. The Communists are extremely short of trained administrative personnel, and that victory came far sooner than they anticipated cannot be doubted. In August, 1948, I was told that they expected at least another two years' fighting.

China's relations with Russia are discussed by each writer, and the conclusion seems to be that although China is friendly to the Soviet Union and the Chinese are orthodox Marxist-Lenists, they are also strong nationalists. They wish to learn from Russia's mistakes, but do not intend to let China be run from the Kremlin.

I feel it is a fault of the book that some points are not stressed more notably:

The extreme corruption of the Chiang Kai-shek administration—not realised by the average Englishman;

The primitiveness and isolation of the the eroded district around Yen'an, where, since 1935 most of the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party have lived. (I travelled about 500 miles in the area north of Yen'an without seeing a road or wheeled vehicle. The impact of a huge city like Shanghai on people who have been away from "civilisation" for years must be great); and

The Chinese Communists' hatred of the Americans, partly due to the partiality with which supplies for relief purposes were distributed during the post-war period, and the supplies to Chiang Kai-shek of arms and money to continue the civil war.

ELIZABETH HUGHES

## Sino-Soviet Relations

China and the Soviet Union, by Aitchén K. Wu. Methuen & Co., 25s.

THIS book is a general history of relations between China and Russia.

Nearly one-third is devoted to relations before the Russian Revolution and over two-thirds to the period before 1937 and the treatment continues to be fairly full up to the end of 1946.

For anyone interested in this historical background of relations between Russia and China, this book should be very interesting, as the author has obviously had access to the best sources of information. A reader who is interested in such questions as the disputes over Outer Mongolia or the Chinese Eastern Railway or the aid given by Russia to China during the war against Japan, to give a few random examples, will find a very fair and objective presentation of the important facts in each case.

At the end of the book, 23 pages are given to a short summary of the rise of the Chinese Communist Party and 15 pages to the Sino-Soviet Treaty of 1950, and a general discussion of future trends. Here the treatment is less satisfactory. The author concludes, in effect, that everything will be all right, provided the governments of China, Russia and the United States will only behave reasonably. But in reality, calm and reasonable behaviour is not a characteristic of any of these governments, so that the author's analysis never reaches a level at which it could deal with the actual problems of international relations in the Far East. Though this is only to be expected when such large problems are only touched on in a concluding section of a few pages.

MICHAEL LINDSAY

## THEIR FUTURE

Under the Skin, by Phyllis Bottome. Faber and Faber, 10s. 6d.

THE clash of colour, race and ideology on a West Indian island provide excellent material for the sympathetic touch of an author whom many have come to respect for her deep insight into the problems of the day.

"It would always be worth while for English people to find out what is wrong and not wait till what is wrong finds them out," is one of the many wise comments made by one of Phyllis Bottome's delightful characters in this novel that is more than a novel.

## Whence peace — from the East or the West?

OVER a period of many years I have been examining and traversing numerous paths and "ways of life," and the conclusion to which they have brought me is that peace is a way of life.

That was but the beginning of my search, however. I desired to know the secrets of that "way," and the task looks like absorbing the rest of my life.

My recent visit to India turned out to be an important part of that search, for in India I made the startling discovery that millions of the materially poorest people on this planet whose bodies testify to perpetual underfeeding, were, nevertheless, fortified by non-material values — traditional, religious, ancestral — which gave to their countenances, their bearing and demeanour and their soft speech a quality of gentleness, friendliness, meekness and restraint which made me feel vulgar and spiritually poverty-stricken in comparison.

It was this experience, in village after village, which gave me the understanding I had previously lacked of Gandhi's deep concern for the retention of the village economy of India, and for its becoming the foundation of India's economy as against the highly-centralised industrialism of the Western economy.

A few days ago I received from a friend in the North of England who had just read "Gandhi as a Social Revolutionary," a book with the intriguing title, "The Interests of the Voiceless Far East," by Dr. J. H. Boeke, Professor of Eastern Economics at the University of Leiden, Holland, and published by the Leiden University Press. Accompanying it was a hint that I might find therein some useful support for my thesis.

The 90 pages of this book are packed with valuable analyses of, and facts concerning the economy of the Orient. The outstanding fact in this economy is that it concentrates on the retention of spiritual values, even at the expense of economic values, whereas the Western economy concentrates on economic values at the expense of spiritual values.

From China to Indonesia and from India to Japan, the Oriental peasant is dominated by non-economic values and would appear to hold on to these values all the more tenaciously whenever his economic values fall. It is only when he is overburdened to breaking-point that he will leave his community in order to earn money to tide over his troubles; but he will count the days to his return to the status, freedom and spiritual habitation of his ancestral home, which will be as soon as his wanderings have fulfilled their purpose.

★

The Oriental economy is based on economic subsistence, or village self-sufficiency; whereas that of the West is based on exchange, or maximum monetary income. The former lends itself to extreme forms of poverty and overcrowding; the latter to fierce competition, class and international war. The Oriental, held by powerful spiritual ties, spurs emigration; whereas the Westerner, having sacrificed most of his spiritual values for money values, finds emigration easy.

The "Yellow Peril," therefore, is a myth, as migration statistics conclusively prove.

Even in industrialised Japan, "the net result of 60 years of costly, encouraged emigration was that in 1930 only 1,100,000 Japanese had settled in foreign parts, the Japanese Colonies and Mandated Territories included. The number of Indians abroad at about the same time was 2,300,000 within the British Empire, and another 100,000 outside it. Neither the Chinese nor the Japanese have ever settled down in Manchuria. Of the more than 3,000,000 Chinese who emigrated to North Manchuria between 1923-28, only 22 per cent. stayed there."

Pitiable as are the evils which have been allowed to enter the Eastern economy, they are mild to those which arise from the introduction of the "exchange" economy of capitalism. The descriptions of how the capitalist economy undermines the Oriental

economy, both spiritually and economically make painful reading, being often the story of a slow process of mass crucifixion.

The supreme tragedy in the East today is the clash of the irreconcilable economies of the traditional East and the capitalist West. Dr. Boeke's analysis completely justifies his forthright condemnation of the entire policy of trying to force a dual economy on the Orient. Such policy can end only in irreparable disaster. The Orient must be allowed to develop on its own lines, unifying the material and the spiritual, while finding its own remedies for the evils it encounters.

It may therefore be that in this way the East will eventually achieve that unity of the material and the spiritual for lack of which our Western civilisation is moving rapidly towards the abyss. In any case, Dr. Boeke offers this timely warning: "The illusion that the (Eastern) masses can be developed in a Western way to become a limitless market for Western industrial products will have to be abandoned."

On the last page, Dr. Boeke comes down on the side of the Gandhian economy, the basis of which Gandhi expressed in five words: "Plain living and high thinking." This is also, says Dr. Boeke, "the glad tidings of a pre-capitalist Christianity as revealed in the New Testament." At least it is for us "to show comprehension and respect for that view of life which, dissenting from our own, has given unity, support and relief to the rural masses" (of the Orient) for many centuries.

The book closes with a fine quotation from Goethe: "Only he deserves both freedom and life, who has to earn them every day anew."

Who teaches that lesson in terms of economy and the daily order of life will bring abiding peace to the world. Will it be the East or the West? Let us try to answer that question in all humility.

WILFRED WELLOCK

## Post-war Germany

Germany: What Now? by Basil Davidson, Fredk. Muller. 12s. 6d.

IN one of his early chapters, Mr. Davidson states that in the Germany which the Allies entered at the end of the Second World War, there were very few people of convinced non-Nazi views. Mr. Davidson does not state what must be an obvious truth, namely that the saturation bombing by American and English forces must have converted many Germans from leanings towards democracy. Mr. Davidson continues, "The Allies did not officially despair of Germany. By the end of the war they had each in their several ways made it clear that their wrath was turned primarily against the leaders, and not against the people at large." It is possible that this consideration was not fully realised by the occupants of Dresden and Hamburg. These isolated statements on Mr. Davidson's part do not, fortunately, represent the general tone of the book, and all those who seek greater understanding of the German people will value the book, both for its analysis of the past, and for its prediction of the future. It gives a careful and discerning review of the rise and eclipse of the Kaiser's Germany, and of the conditions which helped to establish Hitler in Power. The place of the German "industrial barons" in the Nazi regime, is dealt with very comprehensively, and Mr. Davidson does not forget that the names of Krupp and Thyssen must occur in any real history of Germany almost as frequently as those of Hitler and Goering.

Those of us who have unhappily lived through two world wars have become used to wild rumours in which truth and untruth are strangely interwoven, and "corporate" stories have lost their interest for us. However, it is indisputable that the Germans were guilty of atrocities during the war, and in particular in their concentration camps. Mr. Davidson writes with commendable restraint and clarity on this point. The book is timely, and will help to answer many of the questions of the hour. The past and present policies of the Western powers, the political and economic trends of the ruling parties in Germany now, the post war developments, and the place of the German people in the European picture, are all dealt with. The book is an important one, and perhaps it is not inappropriate to say that Mr. Davidson's publishers have produced a substantial volume at a reasonable price.

JOHN VINCENT

## COMMUNISM

The Coming Defeat of Communism, by James Burnham, published by Jonathan Cape, 12s. 6d.

A BOLD title, and an equally defiant inscription: "Who says A must say B," but the substance of the work belies them. Mr. Burnham is an American academician and the author of three previous books, one of which at least is practically a text-book. They are "The Managerial Revolution," which formulates a theory of the social revolution of our times; "The Machiavellians," which analyses the laws of political and social life as they have been developed in the Machiavellian tradition; and "The Struggle for the World," "an angry ruthless cutting analysis" of American foreign policy published in 1947.

In all of these works Mr. Burnham has indicated, perhaps unconsciously, the thread which comes out clearly in his latest book. He is desperately afraid of what will happen to the intellectuals, among which he is numbered, when and if the "revolution" occurs. Until now he has only hinted at his fear; it has only been apparent in the background of his thought. Now he has boldly resolved the problem by declaring that, after all, it won't happen; the defeat of Communism is on the way.

However, he does not prove his contention.

Probably because he is an academician, Mr. Burnham confines his terms of reference to a consideration of the Western world and Russia. The East is nowhere in the picture, in fact he specifically rejects the countries of Asia as having an overwhelming importance in this topic.

This may follow the modern American "New Isolationism," but since fireworks have gone off in Korea, such an exclusion fails to be convincing. In fact, his fellow-countrymen seem now to be agreed that if Communism is to be averted, the Far East is an area of supreme importance.

He divides the arena into three, the United States, the USSR and Europe. The struggle is between the US and Russia, but the battlefield is Europe. Europe is the third force which, owing to the sufferings of recent years, is no longer able to make up its mind (he quotes the vacillations of recent French Parliamentary governments as an example), and therefore, whichever side controls Europe wins the struggle.

At the present time the democratic side is "superior to the Communist side in all relevant lines except two." These two are strategic position and political leadership. American foreign policy is weak in several respects: it is not sufficiently unified; it is too narrow; it is defensive when it should be certain and aggressive, and it has no clear-cut objective.

Were these defects remedied, and if the present decline of Communism hold upon people were to continue, then there would be nothing to be afraid of. And Mr. Burnham, in spite of recognising Communism as a religion, believes that all these things will come to pass.

An easy way to lay a ghost? J.T.



## An American looks at Gandhi

"Lead, Kindly Light: Gandhi and the Way To Peace," by Vincent Sheean. Cassell, 17s. 6d.

THE author of this most interesting book is a well-known American writer whose career has been remarkably wide and varied. Journalist, traveller, soldier and author, he has seen life under many aspects. But what has chiefly interested him has been life itself, its all-embracing character, its loving aspects, its transmission through the many religions and philosophies of mankind, its message within everyman's soul.

One need not wonder that inevitably he was drawn to Gandhi and his teaching. His reading of Hindu religious works had built up the necessary background to his last mission, of which he speaks so movingly—to obtain a direct knowledge of Gandhi's amazing personality and his methods of interpreting and putting into practice his doctrine of "non-violence."

A believer in metempsychosis might well feel that Sheean himself had incarnated again to re-discover some of the truths that he had already learnt in an earlier incarnation. For he interprets Hindu philosophy, religion, and tradition naturally and spontaneously, and he finds it difficult to understand the aloofness and lack of understanding of the Indian way of life and thought so common among Western writers on and residents in India.

In this book one learns once more the various phases of the Gandhian development and activities. And, what is a great advantage, something of the Hindu spiritual teachers who preceded the Mahatma and, in many directions, helped to prepare the way for him. For Gandhi was not an isolated phenomenon in Indian history, however modern and appropriate to the needs and aspirations of his countrymen his approach may have appeared. But in his self-discipline practice, in his religious appeal to the Indian villager irrespective of caste, and in his constant effort to serve the common man—the "untouchable" first of all, the author shows the Mahatma as the exponent of an attitude towards life and towards God that is inherent in Hindu culture and in Indian tradition. In this he has rendered a service to the Western reader that even the beloved C. F. Andrews was unable to do.

Sheean, contrary to the custom of most American authors, is fairly objective in his appraisal of Indo-British relations. He is not uncritical, at times, even of Gandhi's ideas and interpretations, from which he seems, upon occasion, to differ. His visit to the Mahatma, long premeditated, actually occurred on the eve of the latter's martyrdom, at which Sheean was present and which he witnessed with paralysing horror.

One of the defects of this book is that, too often, one seems to read more of Sheean than of Gandhi, and that the author cannot escape from what the publishers rightly speak of as "another volume in the Personal History saga of Vincent Sheean's relation to world-events of the past 15 years." It is a natural trend for an emotional writer to identify himself with those events and to seek to interpret them in the light of their influence upon his own personality.

Indeed, repetition is a fault of this otherwise excellent book, which might well have been condensed substantially without affecting its value. And the ordinary reader, unfamiliar with them, will be confused by the frequent use of highly specialised terms in both Hindu and Western philosophy. Both of these weaknesses are manifested in the author's varied attempts to explain to the Western reader the meaning of *darshan* and its link between Gandhi and the masses of his countrymen.

H. S. L. POLAK

## News from Morocco

IT is important for pacifists to keep a balance of opinion at a time when the Press is "inspired" to create public sentiment. For this reason alone, pacifists should try to read Rom Landau's *Invitation to Morocco* (Faber & Faber, 18s.).

Mr. Landau has sympathy for the Moorish ethic—for the realisation that great riches are the most expensive form of unhappiness and that however poor you may be you are still your brother's keeper. He was, therefore, able to react to the treatment of the Moors in the Spanish Zone, to the regime's utter disregard for the natives' happiness and morality.

Actually, Mr. Landau suggests that the cruelty of the Spanish is more terrifying than that of the Nazis because it is impersonal—there is not even the human relationship of the sadist to the victim.

The pacifist, who struggles for sanity in an age of hate and propaganda, should remember Mr. Landau's courageous exposure when he is drawn into current arguments about Christian and un-Christian nations.

Here, too, is a document about a reign of injustice which calls for an international investigation.

In fairness to Mr. Landau and his publisher, I should add that the rest of *Invitation to Morocco*—the exploration in the French Sector—makes good armchair travelling. The author interviews sultans and pashas, a religious leader who sports a bump on his forehead to give the impression that he is continually banging his head on his prayer-mat, and a poet who catches and drinks his tears in a wine-glass.

But it is the chapter on Spanish Morocco which could be of special concern to every reader of Peace News.

OSWELL BLAKESTON

# A PEACE ANTHOLOGY

By Adrian Brunel

ALTHOUGH many of us who were working for Peace prior to 1939 were disturbed by the increasing tension throughout the world, most of us were not truly and thoroughly alarmed by the trend of events until Neville Chamberlain announced, "It is peace in our time—it is peace with honour." When, in February, 1939, Mr. Chamberlain declared:

"I am convinced that the lessened tension and increased feeling of good security in Europe is largely founded on the fact of British rearmament... The Government's aim is to make the year a starting-point of renewed confidence and security."

it was then we realised that if we were to prevent War, everyone of us must go all out for Peace.

It was then I started to compile a book of quotations dealing with peace and war, freedom and suppression, facts and fancies, views and theories about all the things that make for peace or war. This has now become a bulky work, bound in five fat volumes, and comprising some 400,000 words.

Since no one in this war-ravaged country seems to have the paper to spare for the publication of such a work, I am selecting passages which deal more or less directly on Peace and War, in the hope that they may be of use to my fellow workers in our great cause.

I think it is fitting that I should begin with Clement Attlee. On May 22, 1935, Mr. Attlee declared, "As a party... we stand for collective security through the League of Nations. We reject the use of force as an instrument of policy. We stand for the reduction of armaments and pooled security."

He went on to refer to the co-ordination of defence, adding that "the co-ordination of the peace forces of the world is quite as important and as necessary as the co-ordination of the different services of this country." In popular parlance, we couldn't agree more.

Stanley Baldwin was the author of much that has been classified as pleasant platitude, a great deal of which seemed to be at variance with his official policy. Nonetheless, I think we should be grateful to him for stressing that "It is no good trying to cure the world by spreading out oceans of bloodshed." (Feb. 16, 1923).

Ruth Benedict, an American anthropologist, published a book shortly before the last World War, entitled *Race and Racism*. It is a slender work, but full of facts, logic and commonsense, which are invaluable to all friends of mankind. Here is a quotation containing points which we should never neglect—

"The history of national racism, wherever one looks, is the history of chauvinism... Racism in its nationalistic phase, therefore, has been a politician's plaything. It has been banded about by both enemies against each other even when these are, by anthropomorphic measurements, of similar racial composition; it has been used to discover racial brotherhood where the allies concerned are racially distinct. It is a dangerous plaything, a sword which can be turned in any direction to condemn the enemy of the moment."

Miss Benedict goes on to point out that the inescapable conclusion from its history is that—

"These racist claims are a front

designed to hide self-seeking aggressions and alliances. They are camouflage. For practical guidance in the world of affairs, we should do well, therefore, to go behind the racists' slogans and look squarely at the conflict they are trying to foment."

For the most part, I shall be taking a positive line in my quotations. That is why I am, for the moment, passing over Edvard Benes, Arnold Bennett and Ernest Bevin, and coming to my favourite cynic, Ambrose Bierce, the American short-story writer. The definitions in his *Devil's Dictionary* are a joy—if taken in small doses. You may not always agree with him, but, as with Shaw, his shocks are good for us.

He defines Peace as "In international affairs, a period of cheating between two periods of fighting." A patriot according to Bierce, is "One to whom the interests of a part seem superior to those of the whole. The dupe of statesmen and the tool of conquerors." His definition of Patriotism is "Combustible rubbish ready to the torch of any one ambitious to illuminate his name. In Dr. Johnson's famous dictionary patriotism is defined as the last resort of a scoundrel. With all due respect to an enlightened but inferior lexicographer, I beg to submit that it is the first."

William Scawen Blunt's "My Diaries 1888-1914" are full of observations of great significance. These are mainly comments on historical occurrences. Here is one out of many that I have recorded, which has a sharp sting in the tail—

"When the French in 1801 had Suleiman el Halebi impaled for the assassination of General Kleber, the sentence passed on him by their Court Martial was that he had to remain impaled until the vultures devoured him. I have been reading Jabarti's *Chronicle* (which) shows the French invasion of Egypt to have been a wanton and most criminal proceeding, absolutely ruinous to the still prosperous country. Cairo was almost completely destroyed by them, and when they evacuated, it was left as a prey to the Bedouins for its complete destruction. Yet the French are at this moment raising a monument to Kleber and the rest of them, inscribed: 'To the heroic Martyrs of Civilisation who died during the campaigns of Egypt and Syria.'"

Perhaps we can come back to Blunt on another occasion; in the meantime, here is something more up-to-date, from that forthright and independent minded Tory MP, Robert Boothby—

"The Atom Bomb makes complete nonsense of life. What is the use of nationalising the Bank of England this year, if it is to be vaporised next year?"

It reveals one's ignorance of American politics that I should have been surprised when I came across the following from Senator Borah; referring to the destruction of Guernica and the wanton slaughter of its innocent men, women and children, he said—

"Here Fascism presents to the world its masterpiece. It has hung upon the walls of civilisation a painting that will never come down, never fade out of the memories of men."

I come to the end of the Bs in my first selection of quotations with the famous lines of Robert Burns—

"Man's inhumanity to man,  
Makes countless thousands mourn."

But we have progressed since Burns wrote these lines and can now substitute the word "millions" for "thousands."

(To be continued)

# EINSTEIN

By LADY PARMOOR

Out of My Later Years, by Professor Einstein, Thames & Hudson, 15s.

PROFESSOR EINSTEIN'S latest book, "Out of My Later Years," is sure to have a large circle of readers, not only because of his unique position as a scientist, but also because of his wide interests, and love for humanity.

The book consists of a number of articles written during the years 1936-1949, many of which are published for the first time; some are merely a paragraph like the touching tribute to Mahatma Gandhi, others of considerable length; some, like "An Elementary Derivation of the Equivalence of Mass and Energy," are beyond the comprehension of the unlearned, while the first article "A Self-Portrait" is so appealing in its simplicity that I must quote it.

"For the most part I do the thing which my own nature drives me to do. It is embarrassing to earn so much respect and love for it. Arrows of hate have been shot at me too; but they never hit me, because somehow they belonged to another world, with which I have no connection whatsoever."

Of modern warfare he writes in 1946: "The available weapons of destruction are of a kind such that no place on earth is safeguarded against sudden total destruction. The only hope for protection lies in the securing of peace in a supranational way. A world government must be created which is able to solve conflicts between nations by judicial decision." It must have "the sole disposition of offensive weapons."

A further warning was given in 1948.

"Our situation is not comparable to anything in the past... We must revolutionise our thinking, revolutionise our actions, and must have the courage to revolutionise relations among the nations of the world... The time is terribly short. We must act now if we are to act at all."

In 1947 Professor Einstein addressed an "Open Letter to the General Assembly of the United Nations" in which he set out his ideas of World Government. The United Nations must be strengthened: First, by making the authority of the General Assembly supreme. Secondly, "the moral authority of the UN would be considerably enhanced if the delegates were elected directly by the people. Were they responsible to an electorate they would have much more freedom to follow their consciences." Thirdly, "The General Assembly should remain in session throughout the critical period of transition." That is, from the United Nations to World Government.

Considering the possibility that Russia might refuse to give up her sovereignty, Professor Einstein wrote: "Two conditions are clear to me: the new organisation must have no military secrets; and the Russians must be free to have observers at every session of the organisation, where its new laws are drafted, discussed and adopted, and where its policies are decided. That would destroy the great factory of secrecy where so many of the world's suspicions are manufactured."

This perhaps is the most important suggestion in the scheme at the present moment. If the scientists can break down the system of military secrecy, a great step towards peace will be taken, and with success in sight the scientists should be in control. But the last appeal must be to the spiritual forces:

"Unless the cause of peace based on law gathers behind it the force and zeal of a religion, it hardly can hope to succeed. Those to whom the moral teaching of the human race is entrusted surely have a great duty and a great opportunity. It is to be hoped that not only the churches but the colleges, and the leading organs of opinion will acquit themselves well of their unique responsibility in this regard."

## HELPING OUT HAMLET

Hamlet and The Pirates, by D. S. Savage. Eyre & Spottiswoode, 9s.

HAMLET'S perceptive inability to find a solution to his personal and political problems either in literal non-resistance—which he called craven scruple—or in more or less self-righteous violence is a salutary disturber of both militarist and pacifist complacencies, and not the least significant aspect of the tragedy for our own troubled times. And Shakespeare's escape from the dilemma through a mysticism of divinely-inspired spontaneity, a ritualistic murder and sacrifice, is now acceptable to almost nobody, if it ever was.

Derek Savage is already well-known in these pages, and one looked forward with pleasure to his reading of these profound issues. Even with Dover Wilson and other illustrious precedents it is permissible to be dissatisfied to find a whole critical book avowedly concerned only with the "relative superficialities" of plot exploration, however ingenious, leaving "all metaphysical and ethical questions" for another work in progress. Moreover, Mr. Savage nowhere indicates just how and why the plot-level of an admittedly multi-dimensional work of art can be usefully discussed in isolation from its deepest meanings, which inevitably determine plot-manipulation and impose certain strains on merely naturalistic probability. Fundamentals are fundamental. *Hamlet* criticism will be no

wiser than Polonius if like a crab it will go backward.

This fact seems to me amply illustrated by Mr. Savage's present essay, and indeed his publishers hope that we shall be excited and fascinated and hardly suppose that we shall be convinced. In this they are wholly right. The book kept me up until I finished it at a single sitting at 2 a.m.

The argument that Hamlet had a secret treaty with Fortinbras involving the surrender of territories as a pay-off for collusion in a *coup d'état* "without ever bringing the issue into the open and making it the subject of dialogue in the play," and that he chartered the pirate ship for a pre-arranged rescue about which he subsequently deceived Horatio (and all subsequent listeners until the advent of Mr. Savage!) seems to prove only that there is something in mad Hamlet that makes critics madder and still Madariaga.

This is really a refashioning of the Hamlet myth by a modern mind—Ernest Jones, Michael Innes and others have been doing the same thing recently from motives that would be interesting to analyse and might shed much light on the deeper cultural side-slipping of our age—and not a revelation of Shakespeare's poetic purposes, which is the first business of Shakespearean criticism.

Mr. Savage's other main discussion is an ingenious hypothesis to cover the obscure facts about the publication of the two Quartos, involving the assumption that the pirate sub-plot is a last minute addition

before the printing of Q2, and contains a deliberate display of Elizabethan wit at the expense of the other "pirates" who had published the unauthorised Q1, although he ends up with musing as to whether Shakespeare also had an understanding with those pirates! Here Mr. Savage has perceptively "got something" but has not correctly identified it? The theory of an added episode deserves the fullest consideration, but the postulate of deliberate wit is unacceptable on the evidence advanced. Rather is one impressed with the possibility that some such recent experience as Mr. Savage supposes was unconsciously influencing Shakespeare's choice of words rather in the fashion of the sometimes compulsive image-clusters to which E. A. Armstrong devoted his book on Shakespeare's imagination four years ago. But this, of course, is the cellarage of imagination rather than the living-rooms.

Derek Savage speculates brilliantly and with an authentic creative life of his own which at present sometimes talks down Shakespeare—if Fortinbras passed Elsinore en route for Poland, why on earth should he not return the same way and pay his respects to the King who conceded his army free passage, although it had been originally intended for aggression against his kingdom?—and this essay will not enhance his growing and deserved critical reputation. But it makes us alert and apprehensive for the promised plumbing of the Shakespearean depths in a forthcoming book, *The Underground Man*.

ROY WALKER

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## Pointers . . .

SWEDEN'S Home Minister, Erija Mossberg, has appointed a committee of six leading journalists and publicists to draw up a plan for Sweden's "psychological defence." He defined such defence as meeting hostile propaganda in peace time, countering the risk of panic in wartime, and spreading accurate information at home and abroad.

Reprimanded by a Cape Town magistrate for leaning against a railway bench reserved for Europeans, 19-year-old Latiefa Behardien, a Cape Malay, has appealed to the Cape Supreme Court. Miss Behardien, who is a school teacher, contends that the "apartheid" regulations of the State controlled South African railways are beyond their control.

Sixty of the 9,000 Greek children sent by the rebels to Yugoslavia during the Civil War are to be returned to their homes, the International Red Cross has announced.

Because it has "abandoned its purely revolutionary course and degenerated into a family clique for the purpose of self-admiration," 30 veteran members have quitted Sweden's Communist Party.

"The recent natural calamities and disasters in our country have seriously affected the food situation," said President Prasad, opening the Indian Parliament, "Ripening harvests have been destroyed by floods and in some cases even stores of food grains have been washed away. . . . Even the coming harvest has been seriously affected by drought over a large area." This did not mean that India would abandon her policy of self-sufficiency in foodstuffs.

The United States Agriculture Department has destroyed 26,700,000 bushels of "surplus" potatoes so far this year according to official statistics, Reuter reports. These potatoes would have provided average helpings for about 12 million people for at least a year. The Government bought them from farmers for 20 million dollars (about £7 million) to keep up prices. The potatoes were stored in the hope of selling them abroad, but the sales were too slow.

## SAY NO TO GERMAN RE-ARMAMENT

### HYDE PARK

(on the Green)

Sunday, 3rd December  
3 p.m.

GWYNETH ANDERSON  
BRYAN ANSTAY  
HUGH BROCK  
STUART MORRIS  
SYBIL MORRISON  
JACK SUTHERLAND

Org. by THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION

# I AM A UTOPIAN

By Heinz Kraschutzki

Peace News Correspondent in Berlin

HOW often have I heard this reproach: "But you are a Utopian!" Now I have to confess this is true. It is exactly what I am.

In 1516 Sir Thomas More published his famous book "Utopia," elaborating a human society of utter perfection living in a fictitious country of that name. As people in those times were of the belief that such a state of perfection could never be realised, they began to call Utopian any fancy of idle dreamers, who were not satisfied with the actual state of things.

It is a fact, however, that all that exists today, all technical achievements, social institutions, etc., have been called Utopian before they existed. Things are first ideas, then they become realities. This has been so since time immemorial, why should it not be so now?

In the perfect human society described by Sir Thomas More, certain necessary activities had to be executed by slaves. There are not too many of them, of course, but still, the first of all Utopians, Sir Thomas More, would not make a fool of himself and describe a human society without slaves. That, he thought, was going too far, was too unrealistic.

But we Utopians of today have surpassed him. In our human society there are no slaves. Well now, what has happened to Sir Thomas More, may happen to ourselves. Later generations, perhaps, will find our dreams of today ridiculous, as soon as they have surpassed them.

What would the Mayor of any city only 100 years ago have said, if somebody had told him, that one day it would be possible for him whenever he wanted to speak with the mayor of another city 200 miles away, simply to put a black tube to his ear and mouth and then, within a few minutes, talk things over with his colleague as if he were in the same room? Utopian, he would have said, please leave me alone with your foolish fancies, I am a realist and don't believe in miracles.

And the poor beggar, some 200 years ago, who was dying in his own filth in some corner of the street, in consequence of one of those horrible diseases that came from the general uncleanness of those ages, what would he have said, had you told him that the time would come when every man who was ill was taken to a clean and healthy hospital, put into a bed with white linen, taken care of by a gentle smiling maid, treated by a surgeon who knew how to avoid causing pain to his patient, all without paying a penny for it?

The present state of human society is far from what we, the eternal Utopians, think it ought to be. In fact we are ashamed that so many improvements that would be practicable, if the most part of our riches were not wasted for hideous purposes, are not yet realised. But still we

are living in a society with so many amenities and care for those who cannot do without help from others, that Thomas More would never have ventured to imagine such a thing and bring it before his fellow-citizens of 1516.

But now there are those "realists," who, while mocking at our Utopian dreams, insist that peace and security could only be guaranteed by means of ever-increasing armaments and conscription. Such an idea is not realistic, not even Utopian. It is simply foolish. Thousands of years of history, logic, commonsense, all show us that this is quite impossible. The only reason why armaments still exist is that they have always existed—an argument brought forth against any progress humanity has achieved, be it technical, social or what else.

On Jan. 6, 1950, in Bombay, I had the privilege of listening to a speech delivered by Mr. Jabavu, a Negro professor from South Africa, who had come to India to take part in the World Pacifist Meeting. His hair is white, but his heart is young, and he too is a Utopian. He said:

"Some people say that a durable peace is against human nature. But I have seen things happen in my life that I myself believed to be against human nature, and yet they have happened."

"At the beginning of this century I was in London, studying. There was a lady then, with the name of Sylvia Pankhurst, who had the idea of fighting for women's suffrage. I thought she was crazy. Women's suffrage could only be introduced by a majority vote in the House of Commons, where only men sat. Could one expect them to give away their power? That was against human nature."

And yet, some 20 years later, after Mrs. Pankhurst and her daughters had been in jail innumerable times, the House of Commons, men only, resolved that Women's suffrage should be introduced. The Utopian dream, against human nature, had come true.

"But at the same time, I met a young man whose idea was still more foolish. He was an Indian, with the name of Gandhi. He had the idea of liberating his home country from British rule by non-violent means. I had little to do with him, because I thought he was stark mad. Didn't I know the British from South Africa?"

"And yet, now I am in Indian soil. That fool of 1900, Gandhi, has achieved what he had in mind. Both parties of the House of Commons have consented to what, in 1900, seemed to be utterly Utopian."

"And now that two such events, that nobody in 1900 foresaw and nearly nobody wanted, have come to reality, why

## Up and doing!

### PEACE AND PAPER

"SCRAPS of paper" have long since ceased to count in the power struggle of world diplomacy.

But the printed word remains the most persuasive and permanent means of moulding men's minds for good or for evil.

So it is of vital importance to pacifists, in a time of acute shortage, that the maximum quantity of paper should be available for our week-by-week news and information.

It now seems more than ever likely that the next few months will bring a rigid restriction to Peace News sales. But it is still within our power, your power, to step up the scale of our influence and ensure its greater effectiveness in the acute days ahead, provided we make a great combined effort in the next three months.

We need now:

1. Every reader to order an extra copy.
2. A mass distribution of the Dec. 15, Christmas number (see advertisement on page ten).
3. Your "2d. a week" collection, and sales of Christmas Cards to guarantee our funds for the difficulties ahead.
4. An overall and steady growth in that crusading zeal for pacifism which has been an inspiring feature of this year's work.

H.F.M.

Circulation last week: 11,200 copies  
Target for 1950: 12,500 copies a week.

should a lasting peace, which is the fervent desire of at least 90 per cent. of mankind, be against human nature? I am an optimist!"

May the "realists" make fools of themselves as long as they can. The future is ours.

All London readers and friends are invited to the

## Christmas Social and Reunion

3.30-9.30, Saturday, 2nd December

at  
TOTTENHAM FRIENDS MEETING HOUSE,  
594 High Road (next Burgess' Stores), N.17

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BERNARD BOOTHROYD

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Concert: Refreshments: Housewarming Bookshop  
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## Notes for your Diary

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

### Friday, December 1

LONDON, W.C.2: 1.30-1.45. St. Martin's Lane (nearest underground station Leicester Square): Christmas Sale; Further information from Josie Herrman, 19 Alexandra Road, N.W.8; London Group IVSP.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. 6 Endsleigh Gardens; Policy meeting; Central London PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street; Poetry Reading by Phyllis Vallance and discussion on activities for 1951: Arts and Letters Commission; Secretary: Douglas Clark, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1; PPU.

BURTON-ON-TRENT: 7.15 p.m. Friends Meeting House; Speaker: Hugh Faulkner; For.

ST. ALBANS: 8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Upper Littlemore Rd.; The Rev. George R. Maland, on "The Problem of the Pacifist"; For.

### Saturday, December 2

LONDON, W.C.2: 3 p.m. Westminster Friends Meeting House, 52 St. Martin's Lane (nearest underground station Leicester Square): Christmas Sale; Further information from Josie Herrman, 19 Alexandra Road, N.W.8; London Group IVSP.

NORTH LONDON: 3.30 p.m. Tottenham Friends Meeting House, High Road, N.17; Annual Christmas Social and Reunion; Guest of Honour: Vera Britain; Chairman: Bernard Boothroyd; Children's entertainment; Christmas Fayre; concert; Refreshments, etc.; Admission by gift to Bring and Buy sale; North London Region PPU and Peace Centre.

SPEN: Discussion weekend at Braziers Park School of Integrative Social Research, Spens, Oxon.; "Positive Imagination of Non-Violence."

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### Sunday, December 3

CARSHALTON BEECHES: 3 p.m. 17 Hill Rd.; Stuart Morris on his recent visit to Yugoslavia; PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. TU Club, Central House, Great Newport St.; Debate: "That the Crusade for World Government offers no solution to the problem of World Peace"; Proposer: Philip Sansom (London Anarchist Group); Opposer: Harold Bidmead (Crusade for World Government); London Anarchist Group.

### Monday, December 4

IPSWICH: 7.30 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Fonneveau Rd.; The Rev. Clifford Macqure on "The Challenge of Christian Pacifism"; For.

NOTTINGHAM: 7 p.m. Old Market Square, Friar Lane (Adult school if wet); Stuart Morris; Open-air meeting; PPU.

### Tuesday, December 5

SHENFIELD: 8 p.m. Scouts Hut; For.

### Wednesday, December 6

HIGH WYCOMBE: 8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, London Rd.; For.

LONDON, W.2: 8 p.m. 5 Eborac Crescent, Notting Hill; Joan Layton on "Emerging Africa"; PPU.

LUTON: 8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Castle St.; John Barclay on his recent visit to America; PPU.

HARROW: 8 p.m. Victoria Hall, Station Rd.; The Rev. Lewis Macdonald, MA, and the Rev. Dick Wood, MA, on "The Christian Alternative to War"; For.

### Friday, December 8

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. 6 Endsleigh Gardens; Current Affairs; Central London PPU.

### Saturday, December 9

GLASGOW: 3 p.m. Community House, 214 Clyde Street, C.1; Devotional Meeting; Rev. J. Arthur Hayes, Paisley; Subject: "Real Democracy"; For.

LEEDS: 8:30 p.m. Swarthmore, 4 Woodhouse Square; Children's Christmas Party; 6.30 adults; All welcome; PPU.

### Saturday, Dec. 9-Sunday, Dec. 10

JORDANS: Commencing lunch Saturday; Conference on "Spreading Pacifism"; Total cost 30s.; Application to General Secretary, PPU, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1; Sunday visitors, 5s. and meal charge; lunch 3s., tea 1s. 6d., supper 3s. if booked by December 7; PPU.

### Sunday, December 10

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. TU Club, Central House, Great Newport St.; Michael Scott's famous film "Civilisation on trial in South Africa"; London Anarchist Group.

### Tuesday, December 12

LONDON, N.4: 7.30 p.m. 3 Blackstock Rd.; Speech making: Voice production, problem of personal nervousness, questions and discussion; North London Peace Centre.

### Wednesday, December 13

LEWISHAM: 7.45 p.m. 10 Perry Rise; Forest Hill, S.E.23 (124 and 194 bus to fire station); "What can we do now?"; Speaker: Denis Brian; PPU.

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When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

### MEETINGS

WEIGH HOUSE Church, Duke Street, W.1. (Bond St. Tube). Sunday evenings at 7. The Gospel of Peace! Social hour follows.

WORLD UNION annual meeting: Dec. 6-7. 30 p.m.: King's Cross Methodist Church, Crestfield Street, W.C.1; Speaker: T. R. Ponsford, "The Challenge of South Africa to Christian Thought and Action"; Come and bring your friends.

### ACCOMMODATION

ACCOMMODATION AVAILABLE. Vegetarian and diet reform. Others welcomed. Sea front, small village, Innisfree, Kent. Mary's Bay, Ashford, Kent.

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CAN YOU help? Young couple, no children, seek unfurnished accommodation, London. Cadogan, 72 Leathwhite Rd., S.W.11.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS, Vegetarian Guest House. Rest and comfort amid beautiful scenery. Arthur and Catherine Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Near Matlock. Tel: Ambergate 44.

PACIFIST WIDOW, adult daughter, need unfurnished rooms, South London, Kent. Box 237.

### IN MEMORIAM

IN LOVING memory of Elizabeth Rogers, dear wife of E. V. Rogers, who passed away three years ago. Her husband continually cherishes happy memories of her good works.

### LITERATURE, &c.

HOUSEMANS BOOKSHOP can supply promptly all your book requirements from Penguins to Encyclopedias. Book tokens issued and exchanged. Mail order service our speciality. Send for latest list Housemans Bookshop (in association with Peace News), 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

IDEAL CHRISTMAS gift: "The Stammer of the Skis: a Bible for Animal Lovers," by Will Hayes, illustrated, 5s. post free. The Order of the Great Companions. Hertha's Chapel, Meopham Green, Kent.

QUAKERISM Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London.

### EDUCATIONAL

SPEAKING & WRITING lessons (correspondence, visit) 5s. Dorothy Matthews, BA, 32 Primrose Hill Road, London, N.W.3. Primrose 5686.

### PERSONAL

DECEMBER 2 is registration day for National Service. If you intend to register as a CO write for literature and information to the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

MARRIAGE BUREAU offers unrivalled personal service. Nation-wide clientele. Mary Blair (Room 59), 147 Holborn, E.C.1.

### SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED

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CHRISTMAS PRESENTS? Why not send for a three months trial of Peace News. A special Christmas Card, inscribed with your name and message will be sent with our Christmas number (Dec. 15), and a further twelve issues, all for 3s. 3d. only, post free. Send names and addresses, greetings, and remittance to the Subscription Dept., Peace News Ltd.

CHRISTMAS PRESENTS: gift boxes, stationery, printed recipient's address and telephone number from 6s. 6d. Send P.C. for price list. Watson, pacifist printer, 1 Avenue Rd., London, N.6.

### MISCELLANEOUS

WAR RESISTERS' International welcomes gifts of foreign stamps an undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middlesex.

WANTED. VOLUNTARY help. Boys' Club party, Dec. 12, e.g., conjuring, puppetry. Contact Bernard Wiltshire, Bishop Creighton House, 378 Lillie Rd., S.W.6. Telephone Fulham 1467.



## PEACE PLEDGE UNION CONFERENCE

"CONSTRUCTIVE Peacemaking: Spreading the Message," is the title of a special Peace Pledge Union weekend conference to be held at the Old Jordans Hostel, Bucks, Dec. 9 and 10.

After lunch on Saturday, Neil O'Connor, the well-known psychologist will open a discussion on the psychological approach to the general public, and after tea F. E. Mostyn (Chairman of the Ex-Servicemen's Anti-War Group) and S. Varney (member of the Electricians' Trades Union) will discuss the approach to the ex-serviceman and the Trade Unionist respectively.

D. A. Wells, himself a young CO will open a discussion on Conscientious Objectors on Sunday morning and in the afternoon Councillor Beadle will deal with the approach to politicians. It is hoped that Bernard Boothroyd, editor of Peace News, will also address the conference.

Applications for the few places that are still vacant should be made to the General Secretary, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. Fee for the conference is 30s.

A special meeting of all London Area Peace Pledge Union members to discuss 1951 activities will take place at 6 Endsleigh Street on Dec. 13, at 8 p.m., and on the following evening the National Campaign Committee will be holding a special session.

## Korea meeting

(continued from page one)

lish this article, he said, which had led to the forced retirement of Tom Hopkinson as Editor.

He himself had been shocked when in Korea, by the attitude of the average American GI, which was—"Boy, are these South Koreans tough. They know what to do with these Commies—they shoot 'em."

No less shocking was the feeble attitude of the United Nations' Commission—"Really, old boy, there's very little we can do about it. It's mainly an American show."

There were cries of "Shame!" as he unfolded the whole sordid story of events in Korea, and he concluded by reiterating Kingsley Martin's declaration that "now is the moment when something must be done to stop this East-West conflict which is ruining us all. Stop the Korean conflict now, and develop a new way of life for all Koreans."

"It's an American show!"

The comments of the other speakers were underlined by Norman Mackenzie, New Statesman's U.S. correspondent, who had come to the meeting straight off the boat from the USA.

Fear and intimidation, he said, was preventing the American people from speaking out against the present trend of US policy. Britain was the only nation which could lead the way and make the UN settle the Korean problem at once.

As a practical step he urged everyone present to write to their MP calling for an immediate cessation of hostilities.

## COMMENTARY

(Continued from page two)

and man on grounds of colour only. The resolution also condemns recent colour legislation as inconsistent with "that respect for human personality which should be characteristic of a Christian society" and expresses the opinion that the proposed legislation on the coloured franchise would be a breach of faith with coloured people.

One notes that the Archbishop reiterates the customary appeal of white South Africans to leave the people on the spot to settle their own affairs. But the cause of the non-European in the Union cannot be ignored by world opinion; human rights are a matter of world concern. Can the affairs of Indian, Negro and Bantu be left safely to the white people on the spot? Opinion in the United Nations seems to favour a negative answer to that question.

Population figures just issued show significantly that native population's rate of increase has been slowed since 1946. The Times comment on this is worth attention. "Influences," says its Pretoria correspondent, "bearing on the fall in the rate of increase probably include the influx into urban centres, where conditions are not sufficiently advanced for natives to live with their wives and families under normal home life."

### STANLEY OXLEY

PACIFISM in Bristol has suffered a severe blow in the loss of Stanley Oxley, writes Harold Bing, Chairman of the War Resisters' International. He died on Nov. 21 as a result of internal injuries received in a bus crash on the previous day.

A CO of the first World War, Stanley Oxley, together with his wife Nellie, was an active member of the Bristol branch of the No More War Movement and later they continued their service for peace in the PPU. Stanley will also be missed by the other organisations such as the Adult School Movement and the Folk House Players to which he gave devoted service.

Stanley Oxley was one of those quiet lovable souls who are always ready to serve but do not seek the limelight and he will be sadly missed by a large circle of friends whose sympathy will at this time go out to his widow, and to his mother and sister.

Margaret Brooks, Secretary of Bristol Central PPU Group writes:

"Stanley and his wife, Nell, made their home in Sylvan-way the always-open centre of pacifism in Sea Mills. Many memorable meetings have been held in this happy home and it would be good to know how many, like myself, first came to know the fellowship of true peace-lovers in a group, like this one at Sea Mills, sometimes no larger than a family circle.

"Stanley belonged to the Society of Friends and served on the Friends' Peace Committee. He was also a very staunch and active member of the Bristol Central (PPU) Group.

"At Sea Mills it has already been courageously decided by Neil and Stan's sister, Edie Ballard, and his mother, that the Group shall continue. Its host, whose charm was gentle and lovable but whose conviction was unshakeable, would have wished it so."

### Every reader is asked to help with our Christmas Peace Campaign

Send the Special CHRISTMAS NUMBER of PN with the attractive Christmas Card "Father Christmas Selling Peace News" to your local ministers and clergy, councillors, youth workers and all your friends.

Peace News, Cards and large envelopes all for 4s. a doz. only, post free (Peace News and news-wrappers only 2s. doz.)

Order now, and ask your group and friends to help.

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3, Blackstock Road, London, N.4

## Sybil Morrison's CAMPAIGN COLUMN

*I have never been able to take an absolute pledge, because I knew that if it came to resisting an attack thrust upon us by some other nation, all conciliation having failed, I should feel obliged to resist rather than see my country enslaved.*

—Letter from a peace-lover, Nov., 1950.

THE stumbling block to acceptance of the complete pacifist position by so-called "near-pacifists" usually lies in their inability to see in practical terms any alternative, in the last resort, to fighting. These words: "in the last resort," are constantly used in the quite erroneous belief that "peaceful" Governments have tried every means to keep the peace, and have turned to the use of war, only in defence of their own nationals.

It is, perhaps necessary, therefore, in considering the pacifist answer to aggression, to accept this stumbling block without arguing the possibly false premise on which it is based. Many non-pacifists would agree that the Great Powers have been, both now and in the past, equally to blame for the policies which have led to war, and though deploring this, would still take their stand on fighting for their country in this disastrous "last resort."

But is it "Victory or death"?

It is at this point that a choice of one of two evils is made as a deliberate gamble, based, like other gambles, on the hope of winning; Winston Churchill constantly exhorted the citizens of this country during the last war to believe that the choice was one of "victory or death"; the crude and bitter truth is that it is perfectly possible to lose and live, as the Germans know to their cost today, and a third world war may well create the conditions in which, in any case, the Police State will thrive.

The choice is not between war or enslavement; it is between good or evil. If war is evil, and few will deny it, then it must be discarded as a method, for it is not transformed from evil into good by using it to fight against another evil; on the contrary, it is clear that evil has been piled upon evil until the human race itself is staggering under a terrifying load which may well bring it crashing down to incalculable disaster, if not complete annihilation.

To argue that there is no choice before us but the choice of one of two evils is to deny the existence of good, and that is a doctrine of such utter and ultimate despair that few people would admit its validity, or accept it open-eyed. The truth is, that this patriotic faith in the efficacy of war is so indoctrinated in human beings, that most of them are afraid to take off their self-deceiving blinkers in order to look, with the courage that it requires, upon the blinding light of the truth.

The decision is a moral one

It is not an easy decision at any time, to choose good when it may mean consequences very hard to endure, but the decision is still one between right and wrong and not one between different sets of consequences. If war is an evil then it must be as ruthlessly discarded as any other evil, and the consequences must be accepted.

The decision for individuals is first of all a moral one based on these grounds. The consequences of more than a small minority making that choice is not easy to foresee, but in a world that is, today, filled with people sick with fear for their children and their loved ones, terrified of the destruction of their homes and their security, it is fairly easy to see that if any one Government were to declare for the abolition of all armaments, instead of instant invasion, an immense sigh of relief might be released, a soft and tender breeze on which an olive branch could float alone, unaided by the wings of anything other than the great human longing which launched it on its way.

If this were not so, and enemy invasion resulted from a national decision to renounce war, pacifism still has a practical answer, and this I will deal with next week.

### Emrys Hughes, M.P.

writes every week in

### FORWARD

On sale everywhere — Friday 2d.  
Postal subscription 13s. yearly

from **FORWARD**, 26 Civic Street, Glasgow, C.4.

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